

THE **A** TO **Z** OF

**ANCIENT
EGYPTIAN WARFARE**



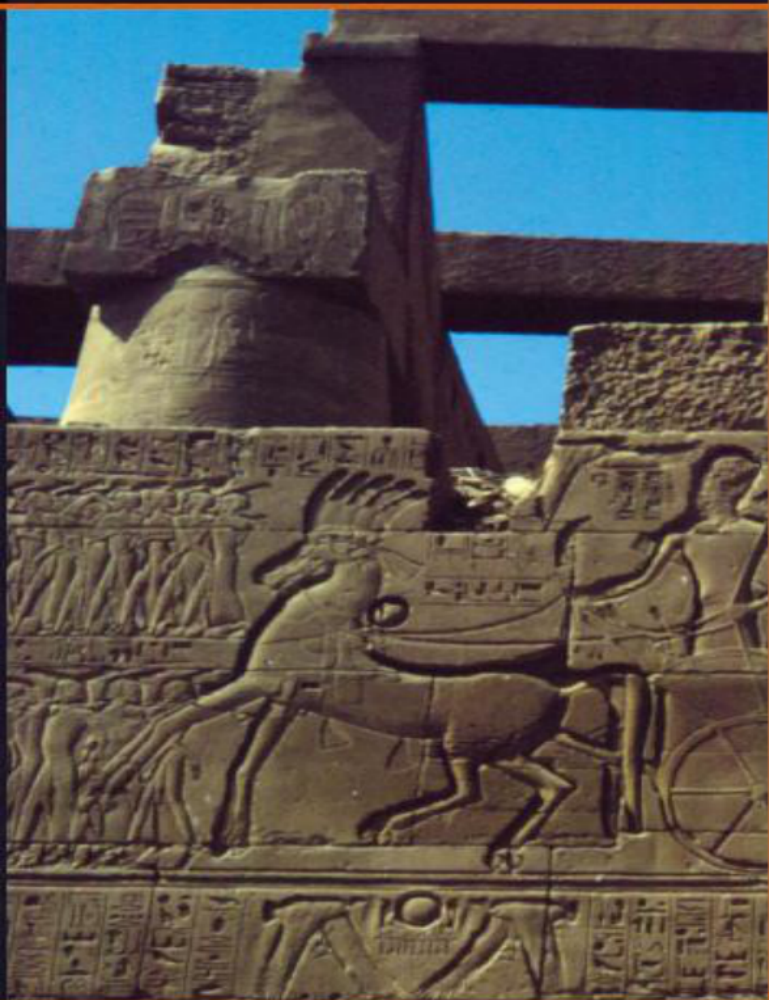
ROBERT G. MORKOT

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

THE **A** TO **Z** OF

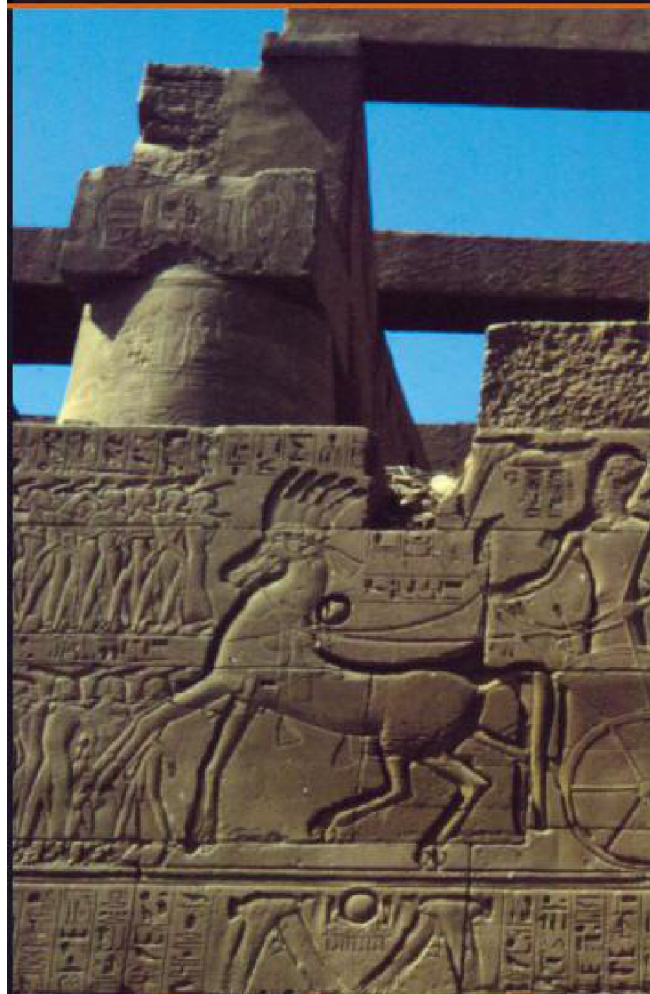
**ANCIENT
EGYPTIAN WARFARE**



ROBERT G. MORKOT

THE **A** TO **Z** OF

**ANCIENT
EGYPTIAN WARFARE**



ROBERT G. MORKOT

OTHER A TO Z GUIDES FROM THE SCARECROW PRESS, INC.

1. *The A to Z of Buddhism* by Charles S. Prebish, 2001. *Out of Print. See No. 124.*
2. *The A to Z of Catholicism* by William J. Collinge, 2001.
3. *The A to Z of Hinduism* by Bruce M. Sullivan, 2001.
4. *The A to Z of Islam* by Ludwig W. Adamec, 2002. *Out of Print. See No. 123.*
5. *The A to Z of Slavery and Abolition* by Martin A. Klein, 2002.
6. *Terrorism: Assassins to Zealots* by Sean Kendall Anderson and Stephen Sloan, 2003.
7. *The A to Z of the Korean War* by Paul M. Edwards, 2005.
8. *The A to Z of the Cold War* by Joseph Smith and Simon Davis, 2005.
9. *The A to Z of the Vietnam War* by Edwin E. Moise, 2005.
10. *The A to Z of Science Fiction Literature* by Brian Stableford, 2005.
11. *The A to Z of the Holocaust* by Jack R. Fischel, 2005.
12. *The A to Z of Washington, D.C.* by Robert Benedetto, Jane Donovan, and Kathleen DuVall, 2005.
13. *The A to Z of Taoism* by Julian F. Pas, 2006.
14. *The A to Z of the Renaissance* by Charles G. Nauert, 2006.
15. *The A to Z of Shinto* by Stuart D. B. Picken, 2006.
16. *The A to Z of Byzantium* by John H. Rosser, 2006.
17. *The A to Z of the Civil War* by Terry L. Jones, 2006.
18. *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* by Margery Post Abbott, Mary Ellen Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John William Oliver Jr., 2006.
19. *The A to Z of Feminism* by Janet K. Boles and Diane Long Hoeveler, 2006.
20. *The A to Z of New Religious Movements* by George D. Chryssides, 2006.
21. *The A to Z of Multinational Peacekeeping* by Terry M. Mays, 2006.
22. *The A to Z of Lutheranism* by Günther Gassmann with Duane H. Larson and Mark W. Oldenburg, 2007.
23. *The A to Z of the French Revolution* by Paul R. Hanson, 2007.
24. *The A to Z of the Persian Gulf War 1990–1991* by Clayton R. Newell, 2007.
25. *The A to Z of Revolutionary America* by Terry M. Mays, 2007.
26. *The A to Z of the Olympic Movement* by Bill Mallon with Ian Buchanan,

2007.

27. *The A to Z of the Discovery and Exploration of Australia* by Alan Day, 2009.
28. *The A to Z of the United Nations* by Jacques Fomerand, 2009.
29. *The A to Z of the "Dirty Wars"* by David Kohut, Olga Vilella, and Beatrice Julian, 2009.
30. *The A to Z of the Vikings* by Katherine Holman, 2009.
31. *The A to Z from the Great War to the Great Depression* by Neil A. Wynn, 2009.
32. *The A to Z of the Crusades* by Corliss K. Slack, 2009.
33. *The A to Z of New Age Movements* by Michael York, 2009.
34. *The A to Z of Unitarian Universalism* by Mark W. Harris, 2009.
35. *The A to Z of the Kurds* by Michael M. Gunter, 2009.
36. *The A to Z of Utopianism* by James M. Morris and Andrea L. Kross, 2009.
37. *The A to Z of the Civil War and Reconstruction* by William L. Richter, 2009.
38. *The A to Z of Jainism* by Kristi L. Wiley, 2009.
39. *The A to Z of the Inuit* by Pamela K. Stern, 2009.
40. *The A to Z of Early North America* by Cameron B. Wesson, 2009.
41. *The A to Z of the Enlightenment* by Harvey Chisick, 2009.
42. *The A to Z Methodism* by Charles Yrigoyen Jr. and Susan E. Warrick, 2009.
43. *The A to Z of the Seventh-day Adventists* by Gary Land, 2009.
44. *The A to Z of Sufism* by John Renard, 2009.
45. *The A to Z of Sikhism* by William Hewat McLeod, 2009.
46. *The A to Z Fantasy Literature* by Brian Stableford, 2009.
47. *The A to Z of the Discovery and Exploration of the Pacific Islands* by Max Quanchi and John Robson, 2009.
48. *The A to Z of Australian and New Zealand Cinema* by Albert Moran and Errol Vieth, 2009.
49. *The A to Z of African-American Television* by Kathleen Fearn-Banks, 2009.
50. *The A to Z of American Radio Soap Operas* by Jim Cox, 2009.
51. *The A to Z of the Old South* by William L. Richter, 2009.
52. *The A to Z of the Discovery and Exploration of the Northwest Passage* by Alan Day, 2009.
53. *The A to Z of the Druzes* by Samy S. Swayd, 2009.
54. *The A to Z of the Welfare State* by Bent Greve, 2009.

55. *The A to Z of the War of 1812* by Robert Malcomson, 2009.
56. *The A to Z of Feminist Philosophy* by Catherine Villanueva Gardner, 2009.
57. *The A to Z of the Early American Republic* by Richard Buel Jr., 2009.
58. *The A to Z of the Russo-Japanese War* by Rotem Kowner, 2009.
59. *The A to Z of Anglicanism* by Colin Buchanan, 2009.
60. *The A to Z of Scandinavian Literature and Theater* by Jan Sjøvik, 2009.
61. *The A to Z of the Peoples of the Southeast Asian Massif* by Jean Michaud, 2009.
62. *The A to Z of Judaism* by Norman Solomon, 2009.
63. *The A to Z of the Berbers (Imazighen)* by Hsain Ilahiane, 2009.
64. *The A to Z of British Radio* by Seán Street, 2009.
65. *The A to Z of The Salvation Army* by Major John G. Merritt, 2009.
66. *The A to Z of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 2009.
67. *The A to Z of the Jacksonian Era and Manifest Destiny* by Terry Corps, 2009.
68. *The A to Z of Socialism* by Peter Lamb and James C. Docherty, 2009.
69. *The A to Z of Marxism* by David Walker and Daniel Gray, 2009.
70. *The A to Z of the Bahá'í Faith* by Hugh C. Adamson, 2009.
71. *The A to Z of Postmodernist Literature and Theater* by Fran Mason, 2009.
72. *The A to Z of Australian Radio and Television* by Albert Moran and Chris Keating, 2009.
73. *The A to Z of the Lesbian Liberation Movement: Still the Rage* by JoAnne Myers, 2009.
74. *The A to Z of the United States–Mexican War* by Edward R. Moseley and Paul C. Clark, 2009.
75. *The A to Z of World War I* by Ian V. Hogg, 2009.
76. *The A to Z of World War II: The War Against Japan* by Ann Sharp Wells, 2009.
77. *The A to Z of Witchcraft* by Michael D. Bailey, 2009.
78. *The A to Z of British Intelligence* by Nigel West, 2009.
79. *The A to Z of United States Intelligence* by Michael A. Turner, 2009.
80. *The A to Z of the League of Nations* by Anique H. M. van Ginneken, 2009.
81. *The A to Z of Israeli Intelligence* by Ephraim Kahana, 2009.
82. *The A to Z of the European Union* by Joaquin Roy and Aimee Kanner, 2009.
83. *The A to Z of the Chinese Cultural Revolution* by Guo Jian, Yongyi Song, and Yuan Zhou, 2009.

84. *The A to Z of African American Cinema* by S. Torriano Berry and Venise T. Berry, 2009.
85. *The A to Z of Japanese Business* by Stuart D. B. Picken, 2009.
86. *The A to Z of the Reagan–Bush Era* by Richard S. Conley, 2009.
87. *The A to Z of Human Rights and Humanitarian Organizations* by Robert F. Gorman and Edward S. Mihalkanin, 2009.
88. *The A to Z of French Cinema* by Dayna Oscherwitz and MaryEllen Higgins, 2009.
89. *The A to Z of the Puritans* by Charles Pastoor and Galen K. Johnson, 2009.
90. *The A to Z of Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Warfare* by Benjamin C. Garrett and John Hart, 2009.
91. *The A to Z of the Green Movement* by Miranda Schreurs and Elim Papadakis, 2009.
92. *The A to Z of the Kennedy–Johnson Era* by Richard Dean Burns and Joseph M. Siracusa, 2009.
93. *The A to Z of Renaissance Art* by Lilian H. Zirpolo, 2009.
94. *The A to Z of the Broadway Musical* by William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird, 2009.
95. *The A to Z of the Northern Ireland Conflict* by Gordon Gillespie, 2009.
96. *The A to Z of the Fashion Industry* by Francesca Sterlacci and Joanne Arbuckle, 2009.
97. *The A to Z of American Theater: Modernism* by James Fisher and Felicia Hardison Londré, 2009.
98. *The A to Z of Civil Wars in Africa* by Guy Arnold, 2009.
99. *The A to Z of the Nixon–Ford Era* by Mitchell K. Hall, 2009.
100. *The A to Z of Horror Cinema* by Peter Hutchings, 2009.
101. *The A to Z of Westerns in Cinema* by Paul Varner, 2009.
102. *The A to Z of Zionism* by Rafael Medoff and Chaim I. Waxman, 2009.
103. *The A to Z of the Roosevelt–Truman Era* by Neil A. Wynn, 2009.
104. *The A to Z of Jehovah's Witnesses* by George D. Chryssides, 2009.
105. *The A to Z of Native American Movements* by Todd Leahy and Raymond Wilson, 2009.
106. *The A to Z of the Shakers* by Stephen J. Paterwic, 2009.
107. *The A to Z of the Coptic Church* by Gawdat Gabra, 2009.
108. *The A to Z of Architecture* by Allison Lee Palmer, 2009.
109. *The A to Z of Italian Cinema* by Gino Moliterno, 2009.
110. *The A to Z of Mormonism* by Davis Bitton and Thomas G. Alexander, 2009.
111. *The A to Z of African American Theater* by Anthony D. Hill with

Douglas Q. Barnett, 2009.

112. *The A to Z of NATO and Other International Security Organizations* by Marco Rimanelli, 2009.
113. *The A to Z of the Eisenhower Era* by Burton I. Kaufman and Diane Kaufman, 2009.
114. *The A to Z of Sexspionage* by Nigel West, 2009.
115. *The A to Z of Environmentalism* by Peter Dauvergne, 2009.
116. *The A to Z of the Petroleum Industry* by M. S. Vassiliou, 2009.
117. *The A to Z of Journalism* by Ross Eaman, 2009.
118. *The A to Z of the Gilded Age* by T. Adams Upchurch, 2009.
119. *The A to Z of the Progressive Era* by Catherine Cocks, Peter C. Holloran, and Alan Lessoff, 2009.
120. *The A to Z of Middle Eastern Intelligence* by Ephraim Kahana and Muhammad Suwaed, 2009.
121. *The A to Z of the Baptists* William H. Brackney, 2009.
122. *The A to Z of Homosexuality* by Brent L. Pickett, 2009.
123. *The A to Z of Islam, Second Edition* by Ludwig W. Adamec, 2009.
124. *The A to Z of Buddhism* by Carl Olson, 2009.
125. *The A to Z of United States–Russian/Soviet Relations* by Norman E. Saul, 2010.
126. *The A to Z of United States–Africa Relations* by Robert Anthony Waters Jr., 2010.
127. *The A to Z of United States–China Relations* by Robert Sutter, 2010.
128. *The A to Z of U.S. Diplomacy since the Cold War* by Tom Lansford, 2010.
129. *The A to Z of United States–Japan Relations* by John Van Sant, Peter Mauch, and Yoneyuki Sugita, 2010.
130. *The A to Z of United States–Latin American Relations* by Joseph Smith, 2010.
131. *The A to Z of United States–Middle East Relations* by Peter L. Hahn, 2010.
132. *The A to Z of United States–Southeast Asia Relations* by Donald E. Weatherbee, 2010.
133. *The A to Z of U.S. Diplomacy from the Civil War to World War I* by Kenneth J. Blume, 2010.
134. *The A to Z of International Law* by Boleslaw A. Boczek, 2010.
135. *The A to Z of the Gypsies (Romanies)* by Donald Kenrick, 2010.
136. *The A to Z of the Tamils* by Vijaya Ramaswamy, 2010.
137. *The A to Z of Women in Sub-Saharan Africa* by Kathleen Sheldon, 2010.
138. *The A to Z of Ancient and Medieval Nubia* by Richard A. Lobban Jr.,

139. *The A to Z of Ancient Israel* by Niels Peter Lemche, 2010.
140. *The A to Z of Ancient Mesoamerica* by Joel W. Palka, 2010.
141. *The A to Z of Ancient Southeast Asia* by John N. Miksic, 2010.
142. *The A to Z of the Hittites* by Charles Burney, 2010.
143. *The A to Z of Medieval Russia* by Lawrence N. Langer, 2010.
144. *The A to Z of the Napoleonic Era* by George F. Nafziger, 2010.
145. *The A to Z of Ancient Egypt* by Morris L. Bierbrier, 2010.
146. *The A to Z of Ancient India* by Kumkum Roy, 2010.
147. *The A to Z of Ancient South America* by Martin Giesso, 2010.
148. *The A to Z of Medieval China* by Victor Cunrui Xiong, 2010.
149. *The A to Z of Medieval India* by Iqtidar Alam Khan, 2010.
150. *The A to Z of Mesopotamia* by Gwendolyn Leick, 2010.
151. *The A to Z of the Mongol World Empire* by Paul D. Buell, 2010.
152. *The A to Z of the Ottoman Empire* by Selcuk Aksin Somel, 2010.
153. *The A to Z of Pre-Colonial Africa* by Robert O. Collins, 2010.
154. *The A to Z of Aesthetics* by Dabney Townsend, 2010.
155. *The A to Z of Descartes and Cartesian Philosophy* by Roger Ariew, Dennis Des Chene, Douglas M. Jesseph, Tad M. Schmaltz, and Theo Verbeek, 2010.
156. *The A to Z of Heidegger's Philosophy* by Alfred Denker, 2010.
157. *The A to Z of Kierkegaard's Philosophy* by Julia Watkin, 2010.
158. *The A to Z of Ancient Greek Philosophy* by Anthony Preus, 2010.
159. *The A to Z of Bertrand Russell's Philosophy* by Rosalind Carey and John Ongley, 2010.
160. *The A to Z of Epistemology* by Ralph Baergen, 2010.
161. *The A to Z of Ethics* by Harry J. Gensler and Earl W. Spurgin, 2010.
162. *The A to Z of Existentialism* by Stephen Michelman, 2010.
163. *The A to Z of Hegelian Philosophy* by John W. Burbidge, 2010.
164. *The A to Z of the Holiness Movement* by William Kostlevy, 2010.
165. *The A to Z of Hume's Philosophy* by Kenneth R. Merrill, 2010.
166. *The A to Z of Husserl's Philosophy* by John J. Drummond, 2010.
167. *The A to Z of Kant and Kantianism* by Helmut Holzhey and Vilem Mudroch, 2010.
168. *The A to Z of Leibniz's Philosophy* by Stuart Brown and N. J. Fox, 2010.
169. *The A to Z of Logic* by Harry J. Gensler, 2010.
170. *The A to Z of Medieval Philosophy and Theology* by Stephen F. Brown and Juan Carlos Flores, 2010.
171. *The A to Z of Nietzscheanism* by Carol Diethe, 2010.

172. *The A to Z of the Non-Aligned Movement and Third World* by Guy Arnold, 2010.
173. *The A to Z of Shamanism* by Graham Harvey and Robert J. Wallis, 2010.
174. *The A to Z of Organized Labor* by James C. Docherty, 2010.
175. *The A to Z of the Orthodox Church* by Michael Prokurat, Michael D. Peterson, and Alexander Golitzin, 2010.
176. *The A to Z of Prophets in Islam and Judaism* by Scott B. Noegel and Brannon M. Wheeler, 2010.
177. *The A to Z of Schopenhauer's Philosophy* by David E. Cartwright, 2010.
178. *The A to Z of Wittgenstein's Philosophy* by Duncan Richter, 2010.
179. *The A to Z of Hong Kong Cinema* by Lisa Odham Stokes, 2010.
180. *The A to Z of Japanese Traditional Theatre* by Samuel L. Leiter, 2010.
181. *The A to Z of Lesbian Literature* by Meredith Miller, 2010.
182. *The A to Z of Chinese Theater* by Tan Ye, 2010.
183. *The A to Z of German Cinema* by Robert C. Reimer and Carol J. Reimer, 2010.
184. *The A to Z of German Theater* by William Grange, 2010.
185. *The A to Z of Irish Cinema* by Roderick Flynn and Patrick Brereton, 2010.
186. *The A to Z of Modern Chinese Literature* by Li-hua Ying, 2010.
187. *The A to Z of Modern Japanese Literature and Theater* by J. Scott Miller, 2010.
188. *The A to Z of Old-Time Radio* by Robert C. Reinehr and Jon D. Swartz, 2010.
189. *The A to Z of Polish Cinema* by Marek Haltof, 2010.
190. *The A to Z of Postwar German Literature* by William Grange, 2010.
191. *The A to Z of Russian and Soviet Cinema* by Peter Rollberg, 2010.
192. *The A to Z of Russian Theater* by Laurence Senelick, 2010.
193. *The A to Z of Sacred Music* by Joseph P. Swain, 2010.
194. *The A to Z of Animation and Cartoons* by Nichola Dobson, 2010.
195. *The A to Z of Afghan Wars, Revolutions, and Insurgencies* by Ludwig W. Adamec, 2010.
196. *The A to Z of Ancient Egyptian Warfare* by Robert G. Morkot, 2010.
197. *The A to Z of the British and Irish Civil Wars 1637–1660* by Martyn Bennett, 2010.
198. *The A to Z of the Chinese Civil War* by Edwin Pak-wah Leung, 2010.
199. *The A to Z of Ancient Greek Warfare* by Iain Spence, 2010.
200. *The A to Z of the Anglo-Boer War* by Fransjohan Pretorius, 2010.
201. *The A to Z of the Crimean War* by Guy Arnold, 2010.

202. *The A to Z of the Zulu Wars* by John Laband, 2010.
203. *The A to Z of the Wars of the French Revolution* by Steven T. Ross, 2010.
204. *The A to Z of the Hong Kong SAR and the Macao SAR* by Ming K. Chan and Shiu-hing Lo, 2010.
205. *The A to Z of Australia* by James C. Docherty, 2010.
206. *The A to Z of Burma (Myanmar)* by Donald M. Seekins, 2010.
207. *The A to Z of the Gulf Arab States* by Malcolm C. Peck, 2010.
208. *The A to Z of India* by Surjit Mansingh, 2010.
209. *The A to Z of Iran* by John H. Lorentz, 2010.
210. *The A to Z of Israel* by Bernard Reich and David H. Goldberg, 2010.
211. *The A to Z of Laos* by Martin Stuart-Fox, 2010.
212. *The A to Z of Malaysia* by Ooi Keat Gin, 2010.
213. *The A to Z of Modern China (1800–1949)* by James Z. Gao, 2010.
214. *The A to Z of the Philippines* by Artemio R. Guillermo and May Kyi Win, 2010.
215. *The A to Z of Taiwan (Republic of China)* by John F. Copper, 2010.
216. *The A to Z of the People's Republic of China* by Lawrence R. Sullivan, 2010.
217. *The A to Z of Vietnam* by Bruce M. Lockhart and William J. Duiker, 2010.
218. *The A to Z of Bosnia and Herzegovina* by Ante Cuvalo, 2010.
219. *The A to Z of Modern Greece* by Dimitris Keridis, 2010.
220. *The A to Z of Austria* by Paula Sutter Fichtner, 2010.
221. *The A to Z of Belarus* by Vitali Silitski and Jan Zaprudnik, 2010.
222. *The A to Z of Belgium* by Robert Stallaerts, 2010.
223. *The A to Z of Bulgaria* by Raymond Detrez, 2010.
224. *The A to Z of Contemporary Germany* by Derek Lewis with Ulrike Zitzlsperger, 2010.
225. *The A to Z of the Contemporary United Kingdom* by Kenneth J. Panton and Keith A. Cowlard, 2010.
226. *The A to Z of Denmark* by Alastair H. Thomas, 2010.
227. *The A to Z of France* by Gino Raymond, 2010.
228. *The A to Z of Georgia* by Alexander Mikaberidze, 2010.
229. *The A to Z of Iceland* by Gudmundur Halfdanarson, 2010.
230. *The A to Z of Latvia* by Andrejs Plakans, 2010.
231. *The A to Z of Modern Italy* by Mark F. Gilbert and K. Robert Nilsson, 2010.
232. *The A to Z of Moldova* by Andrei Brezianu and Vlad Spânu, 2010.

- 233. *The A to Z of the Netherlands* by Joop W. Koopmans and Arend H. Huussen Jr., 2010.
- 234. *The A to Z of Norway* by Jan Sjøvik, 2010.
- 235. *The A to Z of the Republic of Macedonia* by Dimitar Bechev, 2010.
- 236. *The A to Z of Slovakia* by Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, 2010.
- 237. *The A to Z of Slovenia* by Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj and Carole Rogel, 2010.
- 238. *The A to Z of Spain* by Angel Smith, 2010.
- 239. *The A to Z of Sweden* by Irene Scobbie, 2010.
- 240. *The A to Z of Turkey* by Metin Heper and Nur Bilge Criss, 2010.
- 241. *The A to Z of Ukraine* by Zenon E. Kohut, Bohdan Y. Nebesio, and Myroslav Yurkevich, 2010.
- 242. *The A to Z of Mexico* by Marvin Alisky, 2010.
- 243. *The A to Z of U.S. Diplomacy from World War I through World War II* by Martin Folly and Niall Palmer, 2010.
- 244. *The A to Z of Spanish Cinema* by Alberto Mira, 2010.
- 245. *The A to Z of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* by Michael Mullett, 2010.

The A to Z of Ancient Egyptian Warfare

Robert G. Morkot

The A to Z Guide Series, No. 196



The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Lanham • Toronto • Plymouth, UK
2010

Published by Scarecrow Press, Inc.
A wholly owned subsidiary of
The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
<http://www.scarecrowpress.com>

Estover Road, Plymouth PL6 7PY, United Kingdom

Copyright © 2003 by Robert G. Morkot

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote passages in a review.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The hardback version of this book was cataloged by the Library of Congress as follows:

Morkot, Robert.

Historical dictionary of ancient Egyptian warfare / Robert G. Morkot.—1st ed.

p. cm.—(Historical dictionaries of war, revolution, and civil unrest; no. 26)

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Egypt—History, Military—Dictionaries. 2. Egypt—History—To 640 A.D.—Dictionaries. I. Title. II. Series.

DT81 .M67 2003

932'.03—dc21

2003011816

ISBN 978-0-8108-7625-5 (pbk. : alk. paper)



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

Contents

Editor's Foreword *Jon Woronoff*

Acknowledgments

Reader's Notes

Chronology

Introduction

Maps and Illustrations

THE DICTIONARY

Appendix: Dynastic List

Bibliography

About the Author

Editor's Foreword

Although most of what we know about Ancient Egypt relates to the arts of peace, it must be obvious that to survive—and often thrive—as long as it did, Egypt must also have been well versed in the arts of war. Alas, some of the conflicts were internal, rebellions and civil wars. But the more notable accompanied its continuing expansion into one of the largest empires ever, with the conquest of lands and peoples all along the Nile and sometimes farther afield. The most vital were wars against major rivals, some of them huge empires in their own right, others smaller marauding peoples. Indeed, while it won most of the endless hostilities, it did not win them all. Thus, Egypt had a succession of “foreign” rulers as well as indigenous ones. During this long period, it created a remarkable civilization, but it also forged an exceptional fighting machine.

The A to Z of Ancient Egyptian Warfare is particularly significant because it tells us so much about the part of Egyptian history we tend to neglect. The introduction already explains just how warlike the Egyptians were, actually, had to be in order to survive and thrive. The chronology, admittedly patchy because our knowledge of Egyptian history remains patchy, shows how often the empire was at war, whether engaged in relatively minor skirmishes or much larger operations. The entries go into further detail on these engagements and also inform us about the organization of the army and navy, the role of the various officers and leaders right up to the pharaoh himself, the stratagems and strategy, and especially the weaponry. This blends into Egyptian history per se with a presentation of the countless allies and enemies (sometimes one and the same), conquered and conquerors (again sometimes identical but at different periods), including the Assyrians, Romans and successors of Alexander the Great, Hyksos, Libyans and Sea Peoples, and many others.

In some ways it is even harder to write about Ancient Egypt at war than at peace. The archaeological and written remains are fewer, and, to compound the problem, most of what there is may be harder to interpret and, for reasons that will become obvious on reading, far from trustworthy. Despite these difficulties, Robert Morkot has done an admirable job of sorting things out and making them reasonably clear, summing up what is relatively certain, dispelling some of the abiding myths and mistakes, and treating with due caution what we think we now know but may be proven wrong at some later

date. Dr. Morkot has spent more than two decades studying and then lecturing on Ancient Egypt, with a special interest in Nubia and Egyptian warfare. His studies were initially at University College London. At present he lectures for the University of Exeter. He has traveled frequently for research, to visit sites and lead study tours, not only to Egypt but also to Libya, the Sudan, and Syria. He has written four books and many other academic publications. This time he has produced a truly fascinating historical dictionary.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acknowledgments

My interest in warfare is to a large extent accidental. As an Ancient Historian, I am particularly concerned with the interconnections of Egypt and its contemporaries in Africa, western Asia, and the eastern Mediterranean. Inevitably, conflict and warfare played a major role in that. But, as I emphasize in the introduction, our evidence is remarkably patchy, both chronologically, and in certain issues, such as tactics and strategy, that form a major part of studies of warfare. In order to explain the nature of the surviving record, and the role of warfare in Ancient Egypt, the historical dictionary therefore ranges through some of the wider social, economic, and religious spheres that affected, and were affected by, things military.

A book of this type, synthesizing a wide range of material, is indebted to the specialized scholarly work of numerous professional colleagues, ranging from the analysis of the types of wood used to make a chariot wheel to the interpretation of difficult ancient texts, and from calculating how many soldiers were required to defend a particular fortress to understanding the difficulties of destroying crops. The bibliography shows the richness and diversity of research relating to all aspects of warfare.

My own specialist work, notably that on the Egyptian Empire in Nubia, has benefited from discussions with many colleagues, and particularly from the invitation to contribute to “Imperial Designs: Comparative Dynamics of Early Empires” sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research at their International Symposium #122 held in Mijas, Spain, in 1997. My thanks go to the organizers, Susan Alcock, Terence D’Altroy, Kathleen Morrison, and Carla Sinopoli for the invitation, and to the other colleagues present, for their inspiration.

As always, I have pleasure in thanking Peter James and Stephen Quirke for their willingness to answer numerous questions and supply references, and their wide-ranging discussions of many issues; and to Patricia Spencer and Chris Naunton for their help in the library of the Egypt Exploration Society. My thanks also go to the series editor, Jon Woronoff, for his patience and attention to detail. He has made many valuable suggestions, resulting in a number of additional entries that bring together recurring subjects.

Finally, on a personal note, my thanks, as ever, to John Vincent for constant support in so many ways. That one of my uncles served as an officer in the ordnance, and my grandfather in the cavalry, may, or may not, have a bearing

on the number of entries relating to economics, bureaucracy, and horses.

Reader's Notes

There is no universally accepted system of rendering ancient Egyptian names. Some Egyptologists still prefer to use Greek forms of royal names, such as Amenophis and Sethos, but since Greek forms are not known for all pharaohs (e.g., Hatshepsut, Tutankhamun), this inevitably leads to an unhappy mixture. This volume uses a standard system of names based upon the hieroglyphic writings. It should be noted that these transcriptions may have no relation to how the names were actually pronounced in ancient times.

Similar problems occur with Persian, Greek, and Roman names. Greek names have often been Latinized (e.g., Seleucus for Seleukos), and Latin names have often been Anglicized (e.g., Trajan rather Traianus). Greek names are given here in their Greek, rather than Latinized, forms (e.g., Aktion, Antiochos, rather than Actium, Antiochus), although some familiar forms, such as Ptolemy, are retained. Persian names such as Darius have suffered by being Latinized from Greek forms of the Old Persian, but are retained because of their familiarity. The familiar forms of Assyrian and Babylonian names are also used. This inconsistency is perhaps unfortunate, but reflects modern trends, hopefully without being overly pedantic at the expense of familiarity.

The names used for places are also rather complicated. Egyptologists still generally employ the Greek forms, such as Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes, rather than the Egyptian Iunu, Men-nofer, and Waset. There is inconsistency, but principal towns have been cross-referenced to their Greek or Egyptian forms. Archaeological sites are generally referred to by their Arabic names, but a large city, such as Memphis, includes many dozens of individual archaeological sites.

The chronology of ancient Egypt is still a matter of some controversy. The relative ordering of pharaohs, and their reign lengths, is generally accepted for the principal phases, the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, the Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods. It is during the "Intermediate Periods" when there were two or more pharaohs ruling in different parts of Egypt that most problems occur. The earliest absolutely certain date is 690 BC, the accession of the pharaoh Taharqo. The dates for reigns and periods used in this volume are, with a few exceptions, those employed in Morris Bierbrier, *Historical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, Scarecrow Press, 1999.

The use of bold face type to highlight names in the dictionary indicates that these have a specific entry of their own elsewhere in the text.

The maps and plans are intended as a simple guide for orientation, and should not be considered as substitutes for those in archaeological reports or in historical atlases.

Chronology

c. 5000–c. 3100 BC Predynastic Period

c. 3100–2686 BC Early Dynastic Period

c. 3150–3050 BC Dynasty “O”

“Scorpion”

c. 3050–2890 BC First Dynasty

c. 3100 BC Narmer: wars that led to unification of Egypt.

c. 3050 BC Djer: Nubian campaign recorded at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman.

c. 2985 BC Den: military action in Asia or Sinai?

c. 2890–2686 BC Second Dynasty

c. 2600 BC Khasekhemwy: civil war; action in Ta-Sety (Nubia).

c. 2686–2181 BC Old Kingdom

c. 2686–2613 BC Third Dynasty

c. 2686–2613 BC Sanakhte: action in Sinai.

2648–2640 BC Sekhemkhet: action in Sinai.

c. 2613–2494 BC Fourth Dynasty

2613–2589 BC Snefru, Nubian campaign captured 7,000 people. Defensive system of walls and forts built on eastern border.

2589–2566 BC Khufu: battle reliefs (?).

2558–2532 BC Khafre: battle reliefs (?).

c. 2498–2345 BC Fifth Dynasty

2494–2487 BC Userkaf: troops depicted in scene from temple, but not specifically military.

2487–2475 BC Sahure: military actions against Libyans, Asia, and Nubia implied in reliefs from king's temple. Expedition to Punt.

2375–2345 BC Unas: battle scene from temple shows Asiatics or Libyans.

c. 2345–2181 BC Sixth Dynasty

2287–2278 BC Nemtyemsaf: expeditions of Harkhuf to Yam.

2278–2184 BC Pepi II: expeditions of Harkhuf to Yam; emergence of united kingdom of Wawat in Lower Nubia; references to raid on eastern border of Egypt.

c. 2181–2000 BC First Intermediate Period

c. 2181–2125 BC Seventh/Eighth Dynasties

c. 2160–2130 BC Ninth Dynasty. Period of conflict between local rulers (“civil war”).

c. 2130–2040 BC 10th Dynasty. Rulers of Herakleopolis.

c. 2125–1985 BC 11th Dynasty. The rulers of Thebes, Intef I and Intef II, expanded their power northward.

c. 2040–1795 BC Middle Kingdom

11th Dynasty (continued).

2055–2004 BC Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II: wars of reunification of Egypt (taking 40 years); campaigns in Nubia, Sinai, and against Libyans.

c. 1985–1795 BC 12th Dynasty

1985–1955 BC Amenemhat I: Nubian campaigns over 20 years, under Inyotef-iqer: construction of fortress at Buhen; construction of the Walls of the Ruler on the eastern border.

1955 Murder of Amenemhat I.

1965–1920 BC Senusret I: Nubian campaigns: forts built around Second Cataract.

1922–1878 BC Amenemhat II: year 28 expedition to Punt.

1880–1874 BC Senusret II: wall built between Aswan and the head of the First Cataract.

1874–1855 BC Senusret III

c. 1867 Year 8. Nubian campaign.

c. 1866 Year 9. Nubian campaign.

c. 1865 Year 10. Nubian campaign south of Second Cataract.

c. 1859 Year 16. Fortress of Uronarti completed.

c. 1857 Year 19. Fortresses completed. Perhaps this year, campaign in Asia; attack on Shechem.

1855–1808 BC Amenemhat III

c. 1782–1650 BC 13th Dynasty

Loss of Nubia to Kushite kingdom of Kerma. Fortresses (e.g., Buhen) sacked and burned. Kushite garrisons later installed in some fortresses. Hyksos take over the Delta and establish their main center at Avaris.

c. 1650–1550 BC 15th Dynasty (Hyksos)

c. 1585–1550 BC Apepi War with Theban rulers Tao and Kamose.

c. 1580–1550 BC 17th Dynasty (Theban rulers)

c. 1560 BC Tao: conflict with Hyksos; campaign in Nubia?

c. 1555–1550 BC Kamose: campaign in Nubia, Buhen regained; conflict with Hyksos, capture of Nefrusy, advance on Avaris.

c. 1550–1069 BC New Kingdom

c. 1550–1295 BC 18th Dynasty

1550–1525 BC Ahmose

Campaign in Nubia. The Egyptian army reoccupied and restored the fortress of Buhen, installing a garrison and viceroy. Military expansion south of the Second Cataract against Kerma, followed by the construction of a fortress on the island of Sai.

Wars with Hyksos. A naval battle at Avaris. The Hyksos were defeated. This was followed by actions in Canaan, including the siege of Sharuhen (three years or three campaigns).

To consolidate his position, Ahmose led another campaign in Lower Nubia, against Aata, probably a local ruler, and defeated Teti-an, probably an anti-Theban rebel in Egypt. The army sailed to Bylos, then campaigned inland.

1525–1504 BC Amenhotep I

To consolidate his position, Amenhotep campaigned in Nubia, with further building in the fortress on Sai. In western Asia there was a campaign in the Orontes Valley near Tunip.

1504–1492 BC Thutmose I

Thutmose I led the army into Nubia and attacked Kerma. The city was burned, but later rebuilt. The army marched to the Fifth Cataract. Campaign in Asia. The army sailed to Byblos, then marched inland to the Euphrates as a show of strength against the kingdom of Mitanni.

1492–1479 BC Thutmose II

At the pharaoh's accession, there was a rebellion by the Kushite princes. Thutmose led his army into Nubia and defeated the Kushites in battle.

1479–1425 BC Thutmose III (sole reign from 1456).

1472–1458 BC Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, joint rule.

Four campaigns in Nubia, the first probably led by Hatshepsut in person. One expedition was led by Thutmose III and one reached Miu.

1456 Year 22–23. First campaign of Thutmose III's sole reign. The army marched from Tjel to Gaza, then north into Syria to confront a coalition led by the rulers of Qadesh and Megiddo. Battle of Megiddo, followed by seven-month siege, and the city's capture. Return march through Lebanon, where a fortress was built. Return to Egypt.

Year 25. Third campaign, apparently a peaceful tour of inspection.

Year 29. Fifth campaign, in Djahi: Arvad captured.

Year 30. Sixth campaign, against Qadesh, Sumur, and Retenu.

Year 33. Eighth campaign, against Naharin (Mitanni). The army crossed the Euphrates, engaged in battle in Naharin, and captured Carchemish. A boundary stela was set up replicating that of Thutmose I. Thutmose III received tribute from Babylon and the Hittites.

Year 34. Ninth campaign; Thutmose III received tribute from Retenu, Djahy, Nukhashshe, and Cyprus.

Year 35. 10th campaign against Djahy, following the "rebellion" of Naharin.

Year 38. 13th campaign, in Nukhashshe.

Year 39. 14th campaign, against the Shasu.

Year 42. 17th campaign, against Qadesh and Tunip.

Year 47. Thutmose III returned to Nubia, sailing to Gebel Barkal at the Fourth

Cataract, where a fortress was built.

1427–1400 BC Amenhotep II

1425 BC Year 3. Asiatic campaign against Takhsy.

1421 BC Year 7. Amenhotep led his army across the Orontes, then south through Takhsy and Galilee.

1419 BC Year 9. Campaign against Qaqa, chief of Qebaasumin, near Megiddo.

1400–1390 BC Thutmose IV

1393 BC Year 8. The army was sent on campaign into Nubia, precise location unknown.

1390–1352 BC Amenhotep III

1386 BC Year 5. Campaign in Nubia, possibly followed by two more campaigns in Nubia.

1352–1336 BC Akhenaten

c. 1343/1340 BC Year 10 (+?). The Nubian army, led by the viceroy campaigned against Ikayta, in the Eastern Desert.

c. 1340/1336 BC Hittites under their king, Suppiluliuma, take Amurru from Egyptian control.

1336–1327 BC Tutankhamun

There might have been a campaign in Nubia. Egyptian conflict with the Hittites in Syria. This was perhaps a victory led by General Horemheb.

1323–1295 BC Horemheb

c. 1295–1186 BC **19th Dynasty**

1294–1279 BC Sety I

1294/1293 BC Campaign against the Shasu; capture of Beth-Shean and Yenoam. Campaigns ensured Egyptian control of Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Sumur.

1290/1289 BC Egyptians regained Qadesh, but the city soon returned to Hittite rule.

Libyan War.

Year 8. Rebellion of Irem, followed by retaliatory campaign, perhaps led by Crown Prince Ramesses.

1279–1213 BC Ramesses II

1275 BC Year 4. First campaign: march along coast of Canaan and Lebanon, returning via Byblos, Tyre, and Nahr el-Kelb.

1274 BC Year 5. Campaign to Syria against Hittite coalition led by

Muwataalli. Battle of Qadesh: Ramesses II claimed an Egyptian victory.

1271 BC Year 8. Ramesses ensured Egyptian control of coastal cities of Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Byblos.

1269 BC Year 10. Ramesses had a stela carved at Nahr el Kelb on the army's return from Tunip or Dapur.

Year 21. Peace treaty with Hittites.

Year 40. Rebellion of Irem.

1213–1203 BC Merneptah

Action in Canaan, with the capture of Gezer, Ashkelon, and Yenoam.

Year 4. Rebellion in Lower Nubia, suppressed.

c. 1208/1207 BC Year 5. Invasion of Libyan tribes, dominated by the Libu, allied with groups of the Sea Peoples. Battle near Memphis.

1203–1200 BC Amenmesses (or entirely within the reign of Sety II): dynastic war.

1200–1194 BC Sety II

c. 1186–1069 BC 20th Dynasty

1184–1153 BC Ramesses III

c. 1180 BC Year 5. First Libyan War, in which an alliance of Meshwesh, Libu, and Seped invaded Egypt, but were repulsed.

Syrian War, including siege of Arzawa and Tunip.

Nubian War, probably directed against Irem.

c. 1177 BC Year 8. Battle with the Sea Peoples.

c. 1174 BC Year 11. Second Libyan War dominated by the Meshwesh.

1153 BC "Harim conspiracy" in which Ramesses III was, perhaps, murdered.

1153–1147 BC Ramesses IV

1151 BC The army was involved in a major expedition to the quarries of the Eastern Desert.

1143–1136 BC Ramesses VI

The garrison towns of Megiddo, Beth Shean, and Gaza were destroyed by fire, marking the end of the Egyptian Empire in western Asia.

1126–1108 BC Ramesses IX

Nubian troops defeated the Shasu.

1099–1069 BC Ramesses XI

c. 1088 BC Anarchy in Thebes; the viceroy Panehesy brought the Kushite

army into Upper Egypt. This was followed by a campaign farther north into Middle Egypt or the Delta, and a battle.

c. 1083 BC Year 17. Panehesy and the army had returned to Nubia, leaving the general and High Priest of Amun, Herihor, in control in Thebes.

c. 1080–1069 BC Years 20–30. Wars conducted by the High Priest of Amun, Paiankh, against the viceroy Panehesy in Lower Nubia. End of the Egyptian Empire in Nubia.

Third Intermediate Period c. 1069–656 BC

c. 1069–945 BC 21st Dynasty

984–978 BC Osorkon “the elder”

978–959 BC Siamun

c. 945–715 BC 22nd Dynasty

945–924 BC Sheshonq I

945 BC Sheshonq I establishes a dynasty of Libyan chiefs as pharaohs of Egypt.

925 BC Campaign of “Shishak” against Judah captures Jerusalem.

924–889 BC Osorkon I

874–850 BC Osorkon II

853 BC Battle of Qarqar. Army of Shalmaneser III of Assyria defeated a coalition of western Asiatic rulers led by Damascus, including a contingent from Egypt.

850–825 BC Takeloth II. Rebellion in Khmunu and Thebes crushed by Crown Prince Osorkon.

c. 750–656 BC 25th Dynasty

c. 750–736 BC Kashta. Kushite power acknowledged in Thebes and Upper Egypt.

c. 736–712 BC Piye (Piankhy)

Tefnakht ruler of Sau expanded power and took control of Memphis. A coalition of Libyan dynasts led by Tefnakht marched into Middle Egypt. Nimlot of Khmunu, a Kushite vassal, joined Tefnakht. Piye sent the Kushite army based in Thebes against Tefnakht. Despite several confrontations, the Kushite army failed to defeat the coalition. Piye led second army to Egypt and besieged Nimlot in Khmunu. A part of the army was sent north and relieved the Kushite ally, Peftjauawybast, who had been besieged within

Herakleopolis. Khmunu yielded, and Piye led his army north. Tefnakht fled back to Sau. The Kushites captured Memphis and Piye received the submission of the Libyan dynasts at Athribis; Tefnakht swore his oath of fealty at Sau.

720 BC Battle of Qarqar. Sargon II of Assyria defeated Yau'bidi, ruler of Hamath, then marched south, recapturing Damascus and Samaria. The Assyrian army defeated an Egyptian force at the battle of Raphia, and captured the Egyptian vassal ruler of Gaza. The Assyrians were left in control of the Egyptian border at Brook-of-Egypt.

c. 711–695 BC Shabaqo

710 BC Year 2. Shabaqo and the Kushite army marched into Egypt, defeating the Saite pharaoh Bakenranef in battle.

701 BC A joint Egyptian-Kushite army marched to support Hezekiah of Judah in his rebellion against Assyria. The army of Sennacherib defeated them at the Battle of Eltekeh.

c. 695–690 BC Shebitqo

690–664 BC Taharqo

679 BC Esarhaddon led the Assyrian army to Brook-of-Egypt.

678 BC Taharqo might have been active in the Levant while Esarhaddon confronted problems in Babylonia.

677 BC Esarhaddon attacked Sidon, Taharqo's ally.

674 BC The Assyrian army marched to Egypt but was defeated in battle.

671 BC The Assyrians invaded Egypt again. The Egyptian-Kushite army marched to meet them, and there were two battles between Gaza and Memphis. There was a third battle on 11 July 671, at Memphis, which was captured and sacked. Taharqo fled.

669 BC Taharqo regained control of Memphis and Lower Egypt and the Assyrian army returned to oust him, but Esarhaddon died *en route* and the campaign was abandoned.

667 BC The new Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal, marched his army to Egypt and defeated Taharqo, capturing Memphis. Taharqo fled. There was a rebellion against the Assyrian army by the Libyan dynasts. In response the Assyrians attacked Sau and other Delta cities, massacring the population.

664–656 BC Tanwetamani

664 BC Tanwetamani led a Kushite army to Memphis, where he defeated and killed the Assyrian vassal, Nekau I of Sau. Nekau was succeeded by Psamtik I.

663 BC Ashurbanipal led his army to Egypt and pursued Tanwetamani from Memphis to Thebes, which was sacked. Tanwetamani fled to Napata. The

Assyrians withdrew, leaving Psamtik I as their vassal ruler in Lower Egypt.

664–332 BC Late Period

664–525 BC 26th Dynasty

664–610 BC Psamtik I

c. 664–656 BC Psamtik I established himself as sole ruler of Lower Egypt, reducing the power of the other Delta dynasts.

656 BC Year 9. Following diplomatic moves the Kushites withdrew from Thebes and Upper Egypt, leaving Psamtik as sole ruler of the whole of Egypt.

654 BC Year 11. Psamtik led his army against Libyans to the west of Egypt.

610–595 BC Nekau II

609 BC Nekau led the Egyptian army to aid the Assyrian king besieged in Carchemish. At the battle of Megiddo, the Egyptian army defeated Josiah, king of Judah. Nekau installed Jehoiaquim as king of Judah.

606 BC The Egyptian army marched into Syria. The siege of Kimuhu was followed by an Egyptian victory over the Babylonians at Quramati.

605 BC At the battle of Carchemish, the Egyptian army was defeated by the Babylonians under prince Nebuchadnezzar. A second Egyptian defeat at Hamath followed.

601 BC Nebuchadnezzar II attempted to invade Egypt, but was prevented by the Egyptian army at the battle of Migdol (Tell el-Heir). Nekau II pursued the retreating Babylonian army and recaptured Gaza. Nekau may have led his army into Kush.

595–589 BC Psamtik II

593 BC The Egyptian army, with Ionian and Carian mercenaries, invaded Kush and gained a victory in battle at Pnubs.

589–570 BC Wahibre (Apries)

588/587 BC Wahibre attacked Tyre and Sidon while Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian army was besieging Jerusalem.

570 BC Wahibre sent the army to Cyrene. The expedition failed, the army rebelled and acclaimed the general, Ahmose, pharaoh.

570–526 BC Ahmose II (Amasis)

570/569 BC Wahibre attempted to regain throne with help from Cyprus. He was defeated in battle and fled to Asia.

568/567 BC Nebuchadnezzar II and the Babylonian army attempted to restore Wahibre. Wahibre was killed in battle.

526–525 BC Psamtik III

525 BC Egypt was invaded by the Persian army and fleet led by Cambyses. A battle at Pelusion was followed by the siege and capture of Memphis, and of Psamtik III, who was later put to death.

525–404 BC 27th Dynasty (Persian Kings)

525–521 BC Cambyses

There were probably military activities on the southern border in Lower Nubia and perhaps in Kharga Oasis.

521–485 BC Darius I

An Egyptian dynast, Pedubast III, rebelled against Persian rule. The satrap of Egypt led the army on a disastrous expedition to Cyrenaica.

485 BC A rebellion (perhaps led by Psamtik IV) broke out in Egypt.

485–465 BC Xerxes

Xerxes suppressed the Egyptian rebellion.

ca. 480–470 BC A second Egyptian rebellion against Persian rule.

465–424/423 BC Artaxerxes I

c. 460–454 BC The rebellion of Inaros and Amyrtaios of Sau, aided by Athens.

459 BC Memphis captured, except for a Persian garrison. The Persian satrap was killed at the battle of Papremis.

ca. 456 BC The Persian army invaded Egypt. Memphis was recaptured. The rebel Egyptians and Athenians were besieged at Prosopitis in the Delta.

454 BC An Athenian relief expedition was destroyed by Persian forces in the Delta. Inaros was captured and executed.

423–404 BC Darius II

404–399 BC 28th Dynasty

404–400/399 BC Amyrtaios

404 BC Amyrtaios established himself as pharaoh after several years of guerrilla warfare.

400/399 BC Amyrtaios was defeated by the rival dynast, Nefaarud, and executed.

399–379 BC 29th Dynasty

ca. 399/398–394/393 BC Nefaarud I

396–395 BC Nefaarud sent aid to Agesilaos I of Sparta in the Greek War against Persia.

393/392–381–380 BC Hakor

389 BC Hakor formed an anti-Persian alliance with Evagoras of Salamis in Cyprus.

385 BC Persian attack on Egypt; Egyptian actions in Phoenicia.

380–341 BC 30th Dynasty

ca. 379/378–362/361 BC Nakhtnebef (Nectanebo I)

ca. 380 BC Harsiyotef, king of Meroe, campaigned with his army in Lower Nubia.

373 BC The Persian king, Artaxerxes II, sent Pharnabazos and the army to Egypt. They failed to enter via Pelusion, but were successful through the Mendesian branch of the Delta. The Nile flood caused disaster and forced the Persian forces to retreat.

361/360–360–359 BC Djedhor

Djedhor led an army of Egyptians and Greek mercenaries into Palestine. He disagreed with the Greek commander, Agesilaos II of Sparta, who then supported the rebellion of Djedhor's nephew, Nekthorheb. A rival claimant in Mendes was defeated by Agesilaos.

359/358–342/341 BC Nekthorheb (Nectanebo II)

351–350 BC An attempted Persian invasion by the forces of Artaxerxes III was driven back.

343 BC An invasion by the Persian army was successful, and Nekthorheb fled.

Second Persian Dynasty 343–332 BC

343–338 BC Artaxerxes III

c. 338 Khabbash established himself as pharaoh. He was acknowledged in Memphis and the Delta.

c. 340–330 BC Nastasen, king of Meroe, with his army in Lower Nubia (difficult to date precisely). The army of Darius III regained control of Egypt for Persia.

333 BC The Macedonian adventurer, Amyntas, captured Pelusion but was defeated outside Memphis.

332 BC, Sept.–Nov. Alexander III besieged Gaza. In December, he captured Pelusion.

Macedonian Kings 332–305 BC

332–323 BC Alexander III the Great

332 BC Alexander was crowned pharaoh at Memphis.

331 BC Alexander visited Siwa and founded Alexandria before leaving Egypt.

323 BC, June Alexander died at Babylon. Philip Arrhidaios and Alexander IV were proclaimed joint kings.

323 BC Ptolemy governing as satrap of Egypt for Philip Arrhidaios (323–317 BC) and Alexander IV (323–305 BC).

322/321 BC Ptolemy was invited into Cyrene. He installed Ophellas as governor.

321 BC First War of the Diadochoi: Perdikaas killed by his troops in Egypt.

319 BC Second War of the Diadochoi; Syria and Phoenicia annexed by Ptolemy.

314–311 BC Third War of the Diadochoi.

313 BC Ptolemy crushed revolt in Cyprus.

313/312 BC Rebellion of Cyrene led by Ophellas.

312 BC Ptolemy I and Seleukos I led expedition into Syria. Demetrios defeated by Ptolemy at the battle of Gaza; but at the battle of Myus, Ptolemy was defeated by Demetrios.

311 BC Peace reached.

310 BC Ptolemy led an expedition against Cilicia and occupied Cyprus.

309 BC Ptolemy led an expedition to Lycia and Caria, gaining control of Phaselis, Xanthos, Kaunos, Myndos, and Iasos.

309/308 BC Ophellas was murdered and Ptolemy regained Cyrene.

308 BC Ptolemy led a naval expedition against Greece, occupying Korinth, Sikyon, and Megara.

306 BC Ptolemy's fleet defeated at Salamis (Cyprus) by Demetrios who then occupied Cyprus (306–295/294). Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios assumed title of kings. In autumn, they attempted an invasion of Egypt, which was foiled by bad weather.

305 BC The other diadochoi, including Ptolemy, proclaimed themselves kings.

The Ptolemies 305–30 BC

305 BC Ptolemy I Soter assumed title of king.

304–300 BC Magas installed as governor of Cyrene.

303–301 BC Fourth War of the Diadochoi.

302/301 BC Ptolemy gained Coele Syria.

301 BC Ipsos, the “Battle of the Kings.”

295/294 BC Ptolemy annexed Cyprus, Phoenicia, Pamphylia, and possibly part of Lycia.

294 BC Ptolemy’s attempted relief of Athens failed because of Demetrios’s superior fleet.

288–285 BC Fifth War of the Diadochoi.

288 BC Ptolemy’s fleet in Greece.

286 BC Demetrios’s Phoenician admiral, Philokles, king of Sidon, allied himself to Ptolemy I and took the best of the fleet, including the Phoenician contingents. Ptolemy thereby acquired Tyre and Sidon and gained control of the sea and the Island League, without fighting. He also acquired Thera.

285 BC Philokles captured Caunos, which gave Ptolemy a footing in Caria.

283 BC Samos, Halikarnassos, and Cnidos become Egyptian.

Ptolemy II Philadelphos

274–271 BC First Syrian War.

274 BC Antiochos I formed an alliance with Magas of Cyrene. Magas marched toward Egypt and nearly reached Alexandria because of a mutiny by Ptolemy II’s mercenary Gauls, but a rebellion in Libya compelled him to return to Cyrene.

273 BC Ptolemy inspected the defenses at Heroonpolis in the Wadi Tumilat. Invasion of Arabs; by 269 a protecting canal and wall had been constructed.

272 BC The end of the war left Ptolemy in possession of: Cilicia west of the Calycydnus; eastern coast of Pamphylia with Phraselis and perhaps Aspendes; Lycia south of the Milyad; in Caria and Ionia—Caunos, Halikarnassos, Myndus, Knidos, and probably Miletos; in Aegean—besides Samos, Thera, and the Cyclades, Ptolemy held Samothrace and Itanos in Crete; Coele Syria (retained Marsyas Valley); acquired Aradus and Marathus, making all of Phoenicia Egyptian.

267–261 BC Chremonidean War.

260–253 BC Second Syrian War.

257 BC Campaign in Syria.

255 BC Battle of Kos, end of Egypt’s control of sea.

255? BC Battle of Ephesos, fleet under Chremonides.

255 BC General peace concluded.

252 BC Ptolemy II instigated or supported the revolt of Alexander of Corinth.

Ptolemy III Euergetes I

246–241 BC Third Syrian War (Laodicean War).

246 BC The Egyptians captured Seleukeia in Pieria, Antiocheia on the Orontes, and Soli in Cilicia. In the spring, Ptolemy III started from Antioch, marching to Seleukeia on the Tigris.

246 or 245 BC, spring At the battle of Andros, the Egyptian fleet was defeated by Antigonos Gonatas of Macedon. An uprising in Egypt forced Ptolemy to return.

241 BC Peace concluded between Seleukos II and Ptolemy III.

Ptolemy IV Philopator

Kleomenes of Sparta at Alexandria, started an uprising. He committed suicide when it collapsed.

219–217 BC Fourth Syrian War.

219 BC Antiochos III recovered Seleukeia in Pieria, then made gains in Palestine and Syria, except Sidon.

218 BC The forces of Antiochos III moved south by land and sea, engaging the Ptolemaic army at the battle of Porphyreon near Beirut.

22 June 217 BC Battle of Raphia: Ptolemy IV defeated Antiochos III, who evacuated Coele Syria and Lebanon. A peace treaty concluded hostilities.

216 BC The beginning of the nationalist rebellion by the Egyptians.

205 BC Beginning of rebellion in the Thebaid. The Egyptian rebel pharaoh, Haronnophris, controlled Upper Egypt from Abydos to Pathyris.

205 BC Ptolemy IV died, but his death was concealed, and his favorite, Agathokles, seized power. Ptolemy's widow, Arsinoe III, was murdered. Riots in Alexandria ended in the murder of Agathokles and his family.

Ptolemy V Epiphanes

202–195 BC Fifth Syrian War.

Antiochos III acquired Palestine and parts of the Ptolemaic Empire in Asia Minor. The Egyptian army under Skopas was defeated in Palestine and evacuated Coele Syria, but prevented Antiochos from invading Egypt.

201 BC Antiochus took Palestine. Battles at Gaza and Lade.

200 BC Battle of Panion.

200/199 BC Antiochus took Sidon which became, and remained, Seleukid.

198 BC Antiochus reduced the whole of south Syria.

197 BC Beginning of reign of the Egyptian rebel pharaoh, Chaonnophris, in Thebes and Upper Egypt.

195 BC Peace of Lysimacheia.

188 BC Treaty of Apamea, settlement of Asiatic affairs.

187 BC Ptolemaic army regained control of Thebes.

186 BC Chaonnophris defeated.

180 BC Ptolemy V Philadelphos murdered.

Ptolemy VI Philometor

5 October 170 BC Beginning of joint reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and Kleopatra II.

170–168 BC Sixth Syrian War.

winter 170/169 BC Antiochos IV besieged and captured Pelusion and entered Egypt. On his return to Syria, the three Egyptian rulers were reinstated.

168 BC Antiochos IV invaded Egypt again, but the Roman senate intervened and sent Popilius Laenas to Alexandria. He forced Antiochos to withdraw.

165 BC The rebellion of Dionysios Petosarapis spread from Alexandria, followed by a rebellion in Thebes.

164–163 BC Dynastic conflict, which ended when Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II went to Cyrene as king.

147 BC Ptolemy VI Philometor led Egyptian army and navy to Syria, where he became involved in Seleukid dynastic wars to regain control of Coele Syria.

145 BC Philometor died while he was on campaign. Euergetes II returned to Egypt and seized the throne.

132 BC Kleopatra II began a dynastic war and gained Thebes.

131 BC Euergetes II expelled from Alexandria but had returned before 15 January 130 and was preparing an expedition against Kleopatra. An Egyptian rebel, Harsiesis seized power in Thebes.

124 BC Peace and order was restored, with a series of amnesty decrees in the names of Euergetes II, Kleopatra II, and Kleopatra III.

116 BC Death of Euergetes II. The army and the people of Alexandria forced Kleopatra III to appoint her elder son, Ptolemy IX Soter II, as king.

110 BC Soter II expelled from Egypt. Kleopatra III associated her younger son, Ptolemy X Alexander I with her.

109 BC Soter II restored.

108 BC Between 10 March and 28 May, second interruption of Soter's reign by Alexander I.

107 BC Before 15 November, probably before 19 September, expulsion of Soter by Kleopatra III. Joint rule of Kleopatra III and Alexander I. Soter II spent the next 19 years as king of Cyprus.

103–101 BC Syrian War: actions by Ptolemy IX Soter II, Kleopatra III, and Ptolemy X Alexander I in Palestine. Battle of Asophon.

101 BC Before 26 October, murder of Kleopatra III by Alexander I.

96 BC Ptolemy Apion died bequeathing Cyrene to Rome.

88 BC Alexander I driven into exile by a rebellion of both the army and Greek population of Alexandria, incensed by his pro-Jewish attitude. He fled and was killed in a naval battle off Cyprus. Return of Soter II from Cyprus. Rebellion in the Thebaid.

80 BC March, death of Soter II. Berenike III ruled until the Greeks of Alexandria forced her to look for a coregent. Ptolemy XI Alexander II was chosen, but after 19 days, he had Berenike murdered. In response, the enraged Alexandrians murdered Alexander. The throne was offered to Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos ("Auletes").

58 BC Rome annexed Cyprus. The Alexandrians drove Auletes into exile. His daughters Berenike IV and Kleopatra Tryphaina rule together, until Kleopatra's death the next year.

55 BC Aulus Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, escorted Auletes back to Alexandria. He was accompanied by large military unit, the "Gabinians," the cavalry commanded by Marcus Antonius. Auletes put Berenike to death.

51 BC Auletes died appointing Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII as his successors.

49 BC War between Kleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII. Kleopatra fled to Syria.

48 BC The Roman general, Pompey, landed in Egypt and was put to death by Ptolemy XIII's advisors. Iulius Caesar arrived in Egypt and reinstated Kleopatra VII alongside her brother. Caesar's relieving army captured Pelusion. The Alexandrian War.

47 BC Ptolemy XIII killed. Kleopatra VII was confirmed as queen, with Ptolemy XIV as king.

32 BC Octavian and the Roman Republic declared war on Kleopatra.

31 BC Battle of Aktion in Greece. Octavian defeated the fleet of Antonius and Kleopatra and pursued them to Egypt.

Roman Emperors 30 BC–395 AD

30 BC August 3, Alexandria captured.

August 12, death of Kleopatra, followed by the 18 days rule of her children.

August 31, New Year's Day, Octavian began to date his reign in Egypt.

29 BC Cornelius Gallus suppressed rebellion in the Thebaid; the army then campaigned in Lower Nubia.

c. 25 BC Kushite army led by the *Kandake* of Meroe, Amanirenas, marched north into Lower Nubia. Attack on Aswan. The prefect Petronius led a campaign to Nubia, involving actions at Qasr Ibrim.

38 AD Anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria.

54–68 AD Nero

55 AD Jewish-Greek riots and conflict in Alexandria.

66 AD Jewish revolt in Jerusalem sparked riots in Alexandria. The prefect Iulius Alexander attacked the Jewish quarter of the city.

69 AD Vespasian proclaimed emperor in Alexandria.

98–117 AD Trajan

115–117 AD Jewish revolt spread from Cyrene to Egypt and Palestine. Greek population in Alexandria besieged until relieved by Marcius Turbo. Fortress of Babylon rebuilt.

171 AD Rebellion of the Boukoloï, led by the priest Isidoros.

172 AD The rebellion was quashed by Avidius Cassius.

175 AD Avidius Cassius proclaimed emperor in Egypt.

215 AD The Emperor Caracalla in Alexandria; ordered massacre of population and divided the city into two parts.

218 AD Conflict in Alexandria between supporters of rival emperors, Macrinus and Elagabalus.

262 AD Alexandrian mob proclaimed Iulius Aemilianus emperor.

268 AD Zenobia of Palmyra captured Alexandria and Egypt.

270–275 AD Aurelian

270 AD Aurelian in Egypt.

c. 272 AD Reputed rebellion of "Firmus."

286–305 AD Diocletian

296 AD Domitius Domitianus proclaimed as emperor in Alexandria. The Emperor Diocletian in Egypt. Alexandria besieged until 298 AD.

306–337 AD Constantine I

325 AD Council of Nicaea sparked religious riots in Alexandria.

361–363 AD Julian. Riots and attacks on pagan temples in Alexandria.

379–395 AD Theodosius

391 AD Theodosius ordered closure of all pagan temples in Roman Empire; riots and destruction of temples in Alexandria.

Byzantine Emperors 395–642 AD

602–610 AD Phocas

Heraclius and troops landed in Egypt. Persian army of Khosroes II captured Egypt.

610–642 AD Heraclius

639 AD Arab armies led by ‘Amr Ibn-al ‘Asî entered Egypt.

640 AD Defeat of Heraclius at Heliopolis; fortress of Babylon captured.

641 AD Alexandria besieged for 11 months.

September 642 AD Last Byzantine forces left Egypt; beginning of Arab rule.

Introduction

This volume covers ancient Egyptian history from the late Predynastic Period to the Arab Conquest of Egypt in 642 AD. This is a vast span of time, some 4,000 years altogether, yet, for such a long period, there is remarkably little surviving evidence for specific battles and wars, although the imagery of war is common in most periods.

Egypt was united into one state around 3000 BC. The date assigned by Egyptologists to this event, and the beginning of the First Dynasty, varies by some 200 years. In recent years, excavations at the Upper Egyptian site of Abydos, notably by the German Archaeological Institute, have revealed so much “new” material that a Dynasty “0” has been created. Although there are artifacts from this period, notably the “slate palettes” and ceremonial maceheads, some from the site of Nekhen, that show violent and militaristic scenes, there is no direct evidence relating to the wars and battles that are presumed to have created the Egyptian state. Even if the “Narmer Palette” is a record of an Upper Egyptian victory over Lower Egypt (as has long been assumed), it is couched in a typically Egyptian stylized image of the pharaoh smiting enemies, of a type that would continue to appear until the Roman period. The depictions of soldiers do, however, show that the principal types of weapon, bow and arrows, axe, and spear, were already developed.

Evidence from the first two dynasties is hardly any more explicit. The rock inscription formerly at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman in Nubia (now in the National Museum, Khartoum) has generally been attributed to the reign of the pharaoh Djer (c. 3050 BC), and understood as a record of Egyptian military activities in Nubia. The figures around the base of a statue of Khasekhemwy (c. 2600 BC), allied with other scanty evidence, have suggested that there was a civil war during his reign. Images of pharaohs smiting Libyans and Asiatics suggest conflicts with immediate neighbors, perhaps on the western borders of the Delta and in Sinai, rather than farther afield. They are not, however, evidence of specific actions.

The Old Kingdom (Third to Sixth Dynasties, c. 2686–2181 BC) has little more evidence to offer. More scenes of pharaohs in the symbolic act of smiting were carved at quarry sites in Sinai, and a few fragments of relief depict the army in action, although the context is lost. The annalistic text known as the “Palermo Stone” refers to a major campaign in Nubia in the reign of Sneferu (c. 2613–2589 BC), and Egyptian activities in the region of

the Second Cataract, along with other archaeological material, does suggest major Egyptian involvement in the region. Inscriptional evidence from the late Old Kingdom tomb of the border official, Harkhuf, at Aswan, tells how the army was used to accompany trading expeditions into Nubia and also that bands of Nubian mercenary troops came back to Egypt.

Fragments of relief depicting archers are the earliest surviving parts of battle scenes, probably from the pyramid temples of the Fourth Dynasty pharaohs Khufu or Khafre. Similar fragments, which imply military activities, have been recovered from pyramid complexes of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, but no “historical” texts survive with them. Scenes in two late Old Kingdom tombs, those of Inti at Deshasheh and Kaemheset at Saqqara, are the first depictions of siege warfare, showing scaling ladders and the undermining of walls by sappers.

The breakdown of the central government during the First Intermediate Period appears to have seen the rise of local armies under the command of the local governors (*nomarchs*). Scenes in the tombs of such governors at Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt show attacks on walled towns and training exercises (otherwise quite rare in Egyptian art). There is also considerable evidence for Nubian mercenaries based at Gebelein in Upper Egypt. There is slightly more evidence from the end of the First Intermediate Period (c. 2181–2000 BC) for the military activities of the princes of Thebes that brought about the reunification of Egypt by Mentuhotep II (c. 2055–2004 BC), notably the fragmentary scenes of battle from the king’s temple at Deir el-Bahari (Thebes) and the mass burial of soldiers apparently killed during an attack on a walled town. The events of this period could perhaps be classed as “civil war.”

The pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty (c. 1985–1795 BC), notably Amenemhat I, Senusret I, and Senusret III expanded Egyptian control over Nubia. Inscriptions give some information from which the general process can be reconstructed, but there are no detailed narratives of the individual conflicts. These pharaohs also established massive fortresses to defend the transit of luxury trade through the newly conquered territory. These fortresses were particularly numerous around the vulnerable Second Cataract: Semna and Kumma controlled the narrow gorge at the head of the cataract, with smaller forts on the islands and west bank at Askut, Meinarti, Shalfak, and Uronarti. There were two large supply depots at the foot of the cataract, at Buhen and Mirgissa. Although constructed of sun-dried mud brick, these fortresses were impressive examples of military architecture, carefully planned internally, and defended with ditches, glacis, bastions, and complex gateways. The end of Egyptian rule in Nubia came with attacks on the fortresses by Egypt’s erstwhile trading partner, the kingdom of Kush based on Kerma. There is evidence for serious destruction in the fortresses during the 13th Dynasty, and ultimately occupation by Kushite troops, in some cases under the command of Egyptians.

The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1795–1550 BC) once again saw the

division of Egypt, with an Upper Egyptian kingdom centered upon Thebes, and a kingdom controlling the Delta and much of Middle Egypt. Later tradition calls the rulers of this northern kingdom the “Hyksos” and it is generally accepted that there were close contacts with Canaan at this time. Whether there was a large Asiatic population in Lower Egypt at this time is a more controversial issue. The northern kingdom had direct trading contacts with the Kushite kingdom based on Kerma in the northern Sudan, which had captured and occupied the fortresses of the Second Cataract region. This phase apparently saw the introduction of the horse and chariot, and the composite bow, into Egypt. Although extremely rare to begin with, chariots were to come to dominate the warfare of the next 400 years, the Late Bronze Age (the Egyptian New Kingdom).

The Theban rulers Tao and Kamose regained control of much of Lower Nubia and their successor Ahmose reunited Egypt, establishing what is now known as the 18th Dynasty and the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BC). There is slightly more detailed evidence for these campaigns from both royal inscriptions and records of private individuals who took part in the wars. Although these have legitimately been used to reconstruct the history of events, both types of document are still bound by the conventions of Egyptian texts. Similar records continue throughout the early 18th Dynasty, illuminating the military expansion of Egypt under the pharaohs Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II, until the joint reign of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut. With the sole reign of Thutmose III an edited version of a different type of document gives much more detail about the pharaoh’s 17 campaigns in western Asia over a period of 20 years. This text, the “Annals of Thutmose III” is carved as an official record in the temple of Amun at Karnak (Thebes) but is edited from the actual Day Books kept during campaigns. Although it is still framed within the conventions of royal reports to the gods, it contains more detail about the progress of the army and the conflicts, with lists of booty captured. Significant here are the large numbers of chariots and horses.

Diplomacy, rather than warfare, seems to have maintained Egypt’s pre-eminence in western Asia in the reigns of the pharaohs Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, and Akhenaten. This is detailed in the archive of state correspondence known as the “Amarna Letters.” Besides details of the problems confronting the city-states of Syria, Palestine, the letters enumerate the armor and weapons of the international arms trade.

The end of the 18th Dynasty, from the latter part of the reign of Akhenaten, through those of Tutankhamun and Horemheb, saw the rise of the Anatolian kingdom of the Hittites as the major threat to Egypt’s influence in western Asia. The situation may have led to conflict earlier, but is well documented in the early 19th Dynasty reigns of Sety I (1294–1279 BC) and Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC). Indeed the “victory” of Ramesses II at Qadesh 1274 BC is, perhaps ironically, the most depicted and documented battle in Egyptian

history. It is also documented in the Hittite royal archives, giving a rare alternative view to the official Egyptian records.

The reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II are also important for the evidence of military conflict with the Libyans that was to become ever more important in the later 19th and 20th Dynasties. The scenes carved to record the military actions of Sety I in Asia and against the Libyans are the earliest major surviving battle reliefs *in situ*: only fragments and dismantled blocks survive for earlier pharaohs. Although military scenes figure prominently in the temples built by Ramesses II, many of them actually depict the battle of Qadesh.

In the reign of Ramesses II's son, Merneptah (1213–1203 BC), the Libyan threat increased, and an invasion of Egypt by the Libu and Meshwesh, with allies and mercenary troops, is recorded in both a prose account and more literary eulogy of the pharaoh. This second account contains the only known reference to Israel in Egyptian texts and has consequently been called the "Israel Stela." Implicit in the text is an Egyptian advance into Palestine earlier in Merneptah's reign.

The reign of Merneptah's son, Sety II (1200–1194 BC), apparently saw civil or dynastic war and the rival kingship of Amenmesses, perhaps Sety's own son. The end of the 19th Dynasty might also have been a time of civil war, although not as long lasting and serious as some earlier Egyptologists suggested.

The reign of Ramesses III saw the re-establishment of Egyptian authority over parts of Palestine, but this was a time of crisis throughout western Asia. The temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Thebes) carries both conventional military images and strikingly original depictions. The most notable of the campaigns depicted are those against the Libyans and the "Sea Peoples." The battle with the "Sea Peoples" is the first surviving depiction of a "naval" conflict. The king also had to fight with the Kushite kingdom of Irem, which seems to have become increasingly powerful on the border of Egypt's Nubian provinces.

For the remainder of the 20th Dynasty, the evidence is from texts and archaeology rather than depictions. This reveals that there were constant incursions of Libyans into Egypt (although not necessarily all were military in nature), and that Egypt lost control of its territories in Palestine in the reign of Ramesses VI, and in Upper Nubia in the reign of Ramesses X or XI. There was some sort of civil war in Egypt in the reign of Ramesses XI, followed by military activities against the Egyptian viceroy in Lower Nubia.

The collapse of Egypt's empire should be seen in the broader context of the "end" of the Late Bronze Age, and the factors that caused that are still hotly debated. In Egypt, the phase immediately following is known as the "Third Intermediate Period" (c. 1069–656 BC). Pharaohs with Libyan names appeared, and a series of Libyan chiefdoms dominated Lower Egypt. It is not

until the later Libyan period that there is any evidence of military activities. In this case, it is not abroad, but within Egypt. The High Priest of Amun and Crown Prince Osorkon, took his army to Thebes on a number of occasions and used force to assert his authority. The limited, and very one-sided, evidence suggests a period of civil war in which Thebes was trying to assert its independence from the northern pharaohs and set up its own rival ruler.

In Nubia, following the end of Egyptian rule there in the late 20th Dynasty, there must also have been military activities. Again these are not documented for some time, the first indication of a civil war being found in the extremely difficult inscription of Karimala carved in the temple at Semna at the Second Cataract. Military actions must have played a significant role in the formation of the new Kushite state that had come into existence by about 750 BC. Under the rule of Kashta (c. 750–736 BC), the Kushite army had become sufficiently large and well armed to invade Egypt and take control of Thebes and leave a garrison there. Again, military activities within Egypt itself are implicit, but the response of Kashta's successor, Piye (c. 736–712 BC), to the southward expansion of the Libyan dynast, Tefnakht, is detailed in the text of a very long inscription, known as the "Victory Stela." Although couched in the language of a conventional Egyptian royal inscription, this document does detail the progress of Piye's campaign against the coalition of northern rulers led by Tefnakht. There are references to conflict on the river, to sieges, and to siege engines, scaling towers, and ladders.

The evidence of the "Victory Stela" of Piye implies a style of campaign typical of the Late Bronze Age, but in western Asia there were now changes in army, weaponry, and warfare, introduced by the principal power, Assyria. The Assyrians had iron weapons, although at this stage they might not been the decisive factor in their victories. More significant may have been the larger types of horse that had been introduced and bred, leading to a far greater use of cavalry and reduction in chariotry. The Assyrians used a heavy chariot, rather than the fast light-framed vehicle of the Late Bronze Age. They also had sophisticated siege engines and scaling towers that they used with great effect, and which are depicted in the scenes of their campaigns in Palestine.

Established as the major power holders in Egypt, the Kushites under Piye's successors, Shabako, Shebitqo, and Taharqo, began to offer support to the rulers of Palestine and the Levant in their bids for independence from the Assyrians. The first major conflict came at the battle of Eltekeh (701 BC), in which the Egyptian–Kushite army was forced to retreat. Later activities were apparently more successful, but led to Assyrian invasions of Egypt. The Kushite position was made more difficult by the political machinations of the Libyan dynasts, one of whom, Psamtik, eventually succeeded in reuniting the whole of Egypt under his rule, forcing the last Kushite pharaoh, Tanwetamani, to abandon Thebes and Upper Egypt (656 BC).

Psamtik I (664–610 BC) was fortunate that his bid for independence from

Assyrian vassaldom came at a time when the Mesopotamian Empire was under pressure on several different fronts. In a long reign, Psamtik I was able to consolidate his position and remove any internal opposition. He seems to have achieved this with the aid of mercenary troops from Anatolia, principally Lydia and the Greek cities of Ionia. Psamtik I's reunification of Egypt was followed in the reign of his successors by attempts to restore Egyptian authority in western Asia and Nubia. The activities of Nekau II (610–595 BC) in Judah, and in aid of the last Assyrian king, brought Egypt into conflict with the new major power, the kingdom of Babylon. Nekau enjoyed only limited and short-lived success, which came to an end when Babylon attempted to invade Egypt. Psamtik II's Nubian campaign (593 BC), although hailed as a victory, seems to have had no lasting gains of territory in the south. The later kings of the 26th Dynasty, Wahibre and Ahmose II, became involved in the politics of their rather distant western neighbors, the Greek cities of Cyrenaica, a region that was to be increasingly important to Egypt.

In 525 BC, Egypt fell to the invading armies of the new power in western Asia, Persia. For the next three hundred years Egypt was either ruled by the Persians or in rebellion against them. Egyptian independent rulers (the 28th–30th Dynasties and Khabbash) established contacts with the Greek cities and islands that were also hostile to Persian ambitions. For this period, Greek sources provide more information on events than Egyptian ones. Egyptian successes were in part affected, if not determined, by the complex politics of the states of mainland Greece and the Ionian coast of Asia Minor. Egypt gave aid, usually in the form of grain, to Greek cities such as Athens and welcomed the support of ships and mercenary troops from Athens and from Sparta.

The defeat of the Persians by Alexander the Great of Macedon (332–323 BC) brought Egypt under Macedonian control, and so it remained for three hundred years under the Ptolemaic dynasty. These pharaohs effectively established an empire extending into Palestine and Syria with smaller territories and cities all around the coast of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean from Cyrene to the western coast of Anatolia, and including such important islands as Cyprus. There is more detail on battle and military activities from this time as the sources are not solely royal narratives. The organization of the army and techniques of warfare were now different from those of earlier times. The armies were far larger, often comprising huge numbers of mercenary troops. The emphasis had moved from the elite chariotry of the Late Bronze Age to the infantry organized into a *phalanx* of pike-men, with smaller contingents of archers, sling throwers, and cavalry. With control of the sea and the islands being a major focus for the rival Hellenistic monarchies, there were many more sea battles, with resulting developments in ship construction.

Although the Ptolemies ultimately lost control of the sea at the battle of Kos (256 BC) they still retained considerable territory and important cities outside of Egypt proper. The Ptolemies consistently had to fight with their

neighbors, the Seleukid kings of Syria, for control of parts of Palestine. The situation was briefly resolved with the Egyptian victory at the battle of Raphia (217 BC) notable for its use of elephants by both armies.

Internally, there was opposition to the Ptolemaic dynasty, most notably in Upper Egypt, based on the city of Thebes, although there was a more widespread “native revolt” following the battle of Raphia. The dynastic squabbles of the later Ptolemies also had repercussions throughout the country. In their capital city, Alexandria, the mob emerged as a force that became increasingly prominent in Roman times.

With the defeat of Kleopatra VII and Marcus Antonius at the battle of Aktion in 31 BC and the fall of Alexandria to Octavian (Augustus), the following year, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire. The consolidation of Roman control of the country and its southern borders is well documented by literary sources, archaeological remains, and evidence from the neighboring southern kingdom of Meroe. The Roman army system was introduced into Egypt, and there is much evidence for its location and for individual soldiers. New fortresses were built, particularly in the Western and Eastern Deserts. There were periodic outbreaks of opposition to the authorities, some related to the Jewish Wars of the Flavian emperors, and the Jewish revolt (115–117 AD). Tensions between Greeks and Jews in Alexandria frequently erupted into conflict. On some occasions, such as the rebellion of the Boukoloi (171/172 AD), stirred up by the priest Isidoros, the conflict spread from Alexandria to other parts of Egypt.

Augustus had foreseen that Egypt’s wealth and importance might pose problems within the Roman Empire and had ensured that it was under the direct rule of the emperor through a prefect, rather than a senatorial officer. This did not, however, prevent pretenders to the imperial purple from appearing. Vespasian was proclaimed as emperor in Alexandria by the prefect Iulius Alexander, but he was the only pretender who gained wider recognition. The aspirations of Avidius Cassius, Iulius Aemilianus, “Firmus,” Domitius Domitianus, and Aurelius Achilleus, all came to nothing.

The increasing importance of Christianity in Egypt did not end religious tensions in Alexandria and Egypt. Doctrinal disputes brought Egypt into conflict with a number of emperors, and imperial appointees to the See of Alexandria were usually greeted with riots. With the brief revival of paganism under the emperor Julian, and the Edict of Theodosius closing the temples, tensions broke into violence and widespread destruction of buildings.

INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE

Egyptian art that dominates the entrance towers of the temples appears to be full of images of violence, notably the massive figures of the pharaoh smiting

his enemies. A closer examination of these images reveals that remarkably few of them are “historical” and related to actual events. Although it is, in part, due to accident of survival, there are relatively few depictions of “real” battles for the vast span of Egyptian history, and most of those surviving belong to the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BC) and specifically to the reigns of Sety I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III.

It must be emphasized that survival of monuments is an important factor. Recent excavations at Abydos have recovered small fragments of battle scenes of the reign of Ahmose, and other isolated fragments survive from the Old and Middle Kingdoms showing that the depiction of battles was a well-established genre. Nevertheless, the destruction of many earlier monuments means that the materials for the study of warfare and battle are immediately weighted in favor of the New Kingdom. It also appears, from the fragmentary evidence, that battle scenes were a feature of the temples associated with the king’s burial, rather than those designated for the cults of the gods. It is only in the relatively brief period of the reigns of Sety I and Ramesses II that battle scenes are found in cult temples.

A similar situation is found with the literary record, with more references to battle and most of the detailed accounts of the conduct of military operations belonging to the New Kingdom. It has long been recognized that the accounts of military activities do not attempt to be objective narratives, and more recent studies of literary genres have emphasized the ways in which “autobiographical” texts are controlled by what it is appropriate within certain circumstances for a text to say (“decorum”). A leading exponent of this analysis has been John Baines, who, in his studies of specific texts, and of “decorum” more generally, points out that certain aspects of military activity fall within the royal, rather than private, sphere: so a soldier might have said that he had brought living captives, but not that he has killed because that was the pharaoh’s responsibility.

On a broader level, Egyptian “historical” texts are rarely that: the “Annals” of Thutmose III are unusual in that they do appear to have been adapted from Day Books of the campaigns. But even in this instance, adaptation is the essential factor: even if the army scribe responsible actually wrote a straightforward “factual” and “objective” account of the day’s activities, this has been edited, and edited specifically for the location of the final text. Of course, most official records, whether in the form of stele or inscriptions on temple walls are statements of legitimacy by the pharaoh. They are, however, our prime sources for reconstructing historical events.

We have nothing surviving from Egypt comparable to the narrative histories (objective or otherwise) of the Greek and Roman worlds, with their detailed accounts of campaigns and battles. Nor do we have any manuals relating to tactics or military training. But again we must rely on those texts that have survived. For example, we know that there was a manual relating to

the training of horses for chariotry that was used in north Syria and Anatolia. There are no surviving copies from Egypt, but it is likely that it was translated into Egyptian because many Egyptian terms relating to chariotry are Syrian loan words.

From a brief comment in the “Annals of Thutmose III,” we learn that the Day Books of campaigns were written on papyrus or leather rolls, but, like so many documents, these have not survived, and we have to rely on brief edited accounts in official texts. A few letters used as scribal exercises relate to equipping of expeditions or life in garrisons. Such texts might possibly be fabricated letters, but even so the “information” that they contain can be presumed to be “real” and consequently useful to our analyses.

Given these problems with basic source materials, it is not surprising that there have been relatively few general studies of warfare in ancient Egypt, compared with the Greek and Roman worlds, and that those that have been written have focused on the technologies and material remains of weaponry and fortresses, and the organization of the army. The material relating to battle is remarkably limited, with relatively detailed accounts from the pharaonic period of only two battles, Megiddo and Qadesh. Here, the information is derived from official versions. There are even fewer instances where there is more than one source for a battle or war. The Hittite royal archives supplement the Egyptian sources on the Qadesh campaign, and the conduct of the wars of the Theban princes against the Hyksos is documented from several different sources and genres. The inscription of Piye recounting his conflict with the Libyan dynasts is one of very few post-New Kingdom records of military activities. Limitations imposed by the nature of the texts and by the space available where they were written, mean that nearly all accounts are rather brief.

With so many problems relating to the evidence for the history of wars against foreign peoples, it is not surprising that the evidence for civil unrest within Egypt during the pharaonic period is negligible. There is a little surviving evidence for dynastic opposition, usually inappropriately dubbed “Harim Conspiracies,” but there was doubtless more violent opposition than there is evidence for. The survival of a record of the trial of courtiers involved in the conspiracy against Ramesses III is remarkable. Similarly, the archive of private correspondence of the Theban scribes Dhutmose and his son Butehamun details events during the civil war of the reign of Ramesses XI.

Opposition to rulers is well documented from the Ptolemaic era, from a variety of different sources, but raises many other issues such as nationalism, hostility to the Ptolemies as a dynasty, and to the Greeks (including Macedonians) as a ruling power that played no part in the earlier periods. Another new feature of the documents written at the time of nationalist opposition to the Ptolemies is the moralizing in literature, such as the “Demotic Chronicle.” An important aspect of opposition in the Ptolemaic period is the focus on the southern city of Thebes, which had set up rival

rulers, or acted as the main center of an Upper Egyptian kingdom throughout Egyptian history, but particularly during the Libyan period. Opposition to monarchs during the pharaonic period was probably the result of conflicts between the pharaoh and elite factions, and as such would have been more concealed.

Egypt was the result of the unification of two kingdoms, and the imagery of rulership emphasized that, with crowns, protective deities, and symbols for the north and south. At times of national weakness, Egypt did divide, although it cannot be said that there were any natural units. Thebes first emerged as a major power in southern Egypt in the First Intermediate Period and became a major center of opposition to northern rulers in the Third Intermediate and Ptolemaic Periods. Thebes set up rivals to the later Libyan pharaohs, apparently first local, then supporting the Kushites. The city became the principal seat of anti-Ptolemaic activities with its own aspiring rulers. The rebellion of Haronnophris and Chaonnophris in the reigns of Ptolemy IV and V lasted for 20 years and was succeeded by further, if briefer, attempts at independence.

Although the Egyptian borders, most notably those to the south, in Nubia, have received considerable attention because of the substantial remains of fortresses, the internal security of Egypt is less well known. Literature tends to emphasize Egypt's safety from foreign invasion by its geographical position. However, the evidence suggests that although invading armies, especially those coming from western Asia, did have to contend with the difficulties of crossing northern Sinai, and the defenses of the "Ways of Horus," smaller groups of nomadic peoples regularly entered Egypt either seasonally or when forced by famine or other causes. There were many entrances into the Nile Valley from the Eastern and Western Deserts and these must have been controlled by guard posts, garrisons, and military patrols. Access to some, if not all, of the main cities was also controlled by guardposts. Texts refer to the city walls of Thebes and Memphis, among others, and although nothing of these survives, it does suggest that certain important parts, if not entire cities, were strongly defended. Within the society, scenes showing police and henchmen accompanying officials give the impression of an authoritarian, even brutal, regime standing in direct contrast to the idyllic images of rural life found in the tombs of the same officials (and perpetuated in much popular literature on ancient Egypt).

The role of the Pharaoh was always predominantly religious. In some sense, he was akin to medieval popes, rather than being a military leader who also had some religious duties. It is impossible to separate the religious from any other role of the pharaoh. The pharaoh thus had the authority of the sun god and was depicted as both terrestrial and celestial conqueror (in the form of the sphinx) and judge. The pharaoh's duty to control embraced all areas of opposition, both foreigners and the Egyptian people. Hunting wild animals, particularly those of the desert and river, was another way of depicting the

pharaoh's control over the world. At the same time, the pharaoh could assume the form of the most ferocious animals, notably the falcon, the bull, the lion, and the leopard. At the news of a "rebellion" (and all opposition was viewed as rebellion against the king), the king is usually described as "raging like a leopard." In battle, he roars like a bull (or, in some late New Kingdom texts, like a griffon) and drops on his enemies like a falcon. For a brief period in the late 18th Dynasty, in the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, the queens were also depicted as sphinxes and conquerors. Their imagery, derived directly from that of the pharaoh, showed them as the conquerors of Egypt's *female* enemies. In this role, the queens were manifestations of the violent solar and lioness goddess, Tefnut.

CHANGES IN WARFARE

There were only two major changes in technology and organization during the long span of Egyptian history. The most significant during the pharaonic period was at the beginning of the New Kingdom with the introduction of horses and chariotry: until then, Egyptian armies had been entirely infantry. This really was a revolution in military technology, allowing a whole new type of battle. At the same time, it was an elite preserve and led to a whole new genre of literature and depiction (ethos). The use of chariotry on a large scale was a phenomenon of the Late Bronze Age. Although there is much less evidence from Egypt for the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, contemporary armies, such as the Assyrian and Babylonian, used larger numbers of infantry and cavalry. Chariots continued to be used in battle into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but they became more important as transport.

The second significant change in the army came in the Ptolemaic period, when the Hellenistic army was introduced. This put emphasis back on the infantry, but using the phalanx of pike-men that had been developed in Macedon by Philip, father of Alexander the Great. The Ptolemaic period also saw a great expansion of military action at sea. The Hellenistic kingdoms fringed the eastern Mediterranean, and vied for control of the coast, and the islands. Larger warships, the triremes and quinqueremes, were built, and sea battles became more frequent, and decisive. It was defeat at Aktion in 31 BC that effectively brought the Ptolemaic dynasty to an end.

WAR AND SOCIETY

The good preservation of weapons and chariots has focused studies on technology rather than the conduct and social aspects of warfare. Indeed, the conduct of war in Egypt is quite difficult to discuss, simply because of the

lack of good evidence. From other ancient sources, such as the Homeric epics (and the Egyptian “Pedubast Cycle,” which was influenced by them), we find accounts of the field of battle as a social occasion in which etiquette was important, as was social status. In these heroic conflicts, warriors did not fight with those of lower social rank. In some societies, individuals identify themselves to their opponents; this can be done by shouting out name and lineage, also by the use of the shield with an individual device.

There is hardly any direct evidence from Egypt for the conduct of battle before the New Kingdom. The New Kingdom (the Late Bronze Age of the Near East) did see a significant change, at least in the first phase of battle. There was now a major social distinction in the army with the elite chariot divisions apparently taking a leading role in the early stages of the battle.

Display must also have been an important feature of New Kingdom campaigns. On long marches through western Asia, the ordered progress of the army would have been important as a threat. The large numbers of chariots and foot soldiers that a pharaoh could muster would have impressed the extent of his wealth and power. Foreign contingents may also have been important in this aspect, as another indicator of the extent of Egyptian rule. In Nubia, where the fleet was frequently used to convey the army, the ships were decorated with images of the pharaoh as celestial and terrestrial conqueror.

One aspect of Egyptian warfare that has received little detailed treatment is the effect on agriculture of the regions attacked. There is good evidence from Assyrian and biblical records of the practice of cutting crops and trees, and this is attested for the Egyptians in the Annals of Thutmose III and in some Ramesside battle scenes (such as the storming of Tunip depicted in the temple of Medinet Habu). Obviously, the taking of a harvest had practical advantages, as is stated in the annals because it could be used as food for the army, as well as depriving the enemy and causing hardship. This action was limited in time because the crops could be resown the following year. The regular cutting down of orchards reported in the Assyrian records, notably for towns, such as Damascus, must have had longer-term repercussions. Victor Hanson has dealt with the issues of cutting and regrowth in considerably more detail for ancient Greece (*Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, revised edition 1998) than has been done for the ancient Near East.

There is less evidence for the Egyptian destruction of crops by fire, attested from biblical and classical sources. The value of the crops as food might have outweighed the punitive and propaganda value of destruction: cutting crops is quite as effective in depriving a population and much more use to an army that has marched a considerable distance. Effective cutting of crops could only be achieved if the enemy was besieged (as at Megiddo) and unable to attack the army. Victor Hanson highlights all of the problems associated with destroying crops, whether by fire, which is only effective when the crop is

fully ripe; by cutting, which is very time-consuming; or by trampling, which is not always completely effective. Other factors, such as terrain, are also important: terraced fields are obviously much more difficult to ravage than flat, open ground.

Similar problems occur in the attempts to destroy trees. Cutting is the only effective way of destroying orchards: green wood being difficult to ignite. As Victor Hanson details, there are immense problems in attempting to destroy olive trees, and even trees fired or cut down rapidly regenerate. The depredations of invading armies would have had serious short-term effects, but this is probably all that was desired: the aggressors might have wished to receive the products of orchards through trade or tax in future years.

Of all the social issues, the status of the soldier is the one where the ancient sources are most ambivalent, and modern opinion has been somewhat divided. There is good evidence for conscription and enforced military service in the Old and Middle Kingdoms and some evidence for its continuation into the New Kingdom. The oft-quoted view of Egyptologists that the Egyptians “did not like fighting” (unlike the image of the “bloodthirsty Assyrians”) might owe more to a 19th century racist view than any ancient sources. Certainly there were large numbers of mercenary troops in the Egyptian army at all periods, especially the New Kingdom, but there is no doubt that the bulk of the army was Egyptian. Nubian bowmen were a regular feature of the army, and the later New Kingdom had large contingents of Libyans. This was in part an Egyptian response to circumstances. From the reign of Sety I onward, Libyans were marching into Egypt to settle, apparently as the result of famine in their homeland. Ramesses II and his successors incorporated significant numbers into the army and settled them in specific areas, notably around Bubastis in the eastern Delta. Other foreign troops are found associated with the Libyans, and also in the Egyptian army, notably the Shekelesh and Shardana. Both groups are also numbered among the “Sea Peoples,” who are supposed to have posed a threat to Egypt in the reign of Ramesses III.

Mercenary soldiers certainly had high status: Egyptian wives and servants are documented for Nubian mercenaries at Gebelein in the First Intermediate Period and for Asiatic mercenaries at Akhetaten in the New Kingdom. Military officers of Libyan origin married into the Egyptian elite and eventually became pharaohs.

One of the most controversial issues is the relationship of the army and its commanders to the Egyptian elite as whole. In the early 20th century, Egyptologists argued that there was a “*mariyannu*” class in Egypt. The *mariyannu* were supposedly a chariot-owning aristocracy of Indo-European origin. The term certainly occurs in Egyptian texts and is a loan-word from Asia. However, identifying this group with a race was certainly wrong, although it was typical of ideas about race and diffusion that had received widespread academic sanction at that time. Wolfgang Helck, in his influential volume *Der Einfluss der Militärführer* (“The rise of the military leader”),

published, rather significantly, in 1939, reinforced the idea that the New Kingdom saw the rise of military leaders as pharaohs. This process is seen to have culminated with the accession of, firstly, Horemheb, and then the family of Sety I and Ramesses II, to the kingship. These men were certainly army generals before they became pharaohs, but whether they became pharaohs *because* of their military background (and, presumably, support) is rather more contentious. It might be wrong to separate the military, as an institution, from the rest of the elite. The Egyptian Empire of the New Kingdom required an increased specialization and professionalism in all of the key areas of administration, priesthood, and army. All members of the elite shared the same education, which combined scribal skills with those of chariotry and archery. Indeed, some military officials chose to be depicted as scribes on their monuments. Although in the later New Kingdom and the succeeding periods, the ideal of hereditary offices might have led to whole families being largely, for example, priests, “the military” is unlikely to have constituted a separate power before the later 20th Dynasty.

Related to this issue, another term that has provoked considerable debate is *machimoi*. There is abundant evidence for the term from the Ptolemaic period, but the key text is Herodotos, who lays great emphasis on the *machimoi* as a military “caste.” There is no evidence for such a caste in the New Kingdom (despite the *mariyannu*) and it has now been suggested that the emergence of such a military caste was perhaps a legacy of the Libyan period.

WAR AND ECONOMICS

We seem to know more about the economic aspects of warfare than about strategy and tactics in battle. This is largely because of the nature of Egyptian documents, and “decorum.” The important role of the bureaucracy in war has been examined by Ian Shaw (“Battle in Ancient Egypt: the Triumph of Horus or the Cutting Edge of the Temple Economy?” In Alan B. Lloyd, ed., *Battle in Antiquity*. London: Duckworth, 1996, 239–269). Egypt was an extraordinarily bureaucratic society, and the detailed record of captures, both people and things, is found in both official and private texts. As with so much of Egyptian history, the best documentation is from the New Kingdom. The autobiographical texts of soldiers, such as Ahmose son of Ebana and Ahmosepen-Nekhet, detail their own captures on the field of battle and their rewards from the pharaohs under whom they served. They are important sources for understanding the economic aspects of war as it affected individuals.

The “Annals of Thutmose III” and some other texts provide details of the state’s revenues from war through captures on the field of battle and booty from defeated cities and states. The “Amarna Letters” are a rich source for understanding the importance of gift exchange between rulers in the spread of military equipment and technology. They detail the types of military

equipment sent from Mitanni to Egypt, including chariots, horse equipment and armor, spears, arrows, shields, and helmets. They also inform us about the import of horses to Egypt from north Syria.

On the individual level, texts record the rewards made to soldiers for capturing enemy soldiers and civilians or chariots and horses. Captured civilians were often given to the soldier as slaves. Gold flies and other valuables were also given as reward and as indicators of bravery in the field. Most significant, perhaps, were the grants of land, as these may have aided families in social advancement. The importance of such documentation to the elite is revealed particularly well in the inscription of a man named Mose who lived in the early 19th Dynasty. There had been a family dispute over a period of some 50 years, but the dispute was about the produce from land that had been granted to a soldier ancestor some 200 years earlier, in the early 18th Dynasty.

On a broader level, what becomes clear from the sources is the rapid spread and expansion of the chariotry. The texts from the early 18th Dynasty in Egypt, and contemporary records from western Asia, indicate that chariots were very few in number at the beginning of the period, but by the time of the battle of Qadesh, rulers were able to put hundreds, if not thousands, into the field. The increase in numbers of chariots available to the Great King of the Hittites illustrates this well. Early rulers had few chariots, but by the time of Thutmose III, the Hittite Great King could muster 1,000, and the records of Ramesses II claim that there were 2,500–3,000 chariots of the Hittites, their vassals and allies, at the battle of Qadesh. The Egyptians certainly increased their numbers of chariots through captures. At Megiddo Thutmose III seized 924 chariots, and slightly later Amenhotep II captured a total of 1,822 in his campaigns.

Although all early chariots appear to have been imports or captures, by the mid-18th Dynasty, the Egyptians were manufacturing them themselves, and transferable technologies in warfare and equipment are a characteristic of the period, with an effect on the trade in raw materials. Lacking good-quality timber, Egypt had gold and other luxuries it could use in exchange. Mitanni controlled the trade in deciduous timbers such as oak, ash, and birch that were essential for chariot building, and doubtless this played a significant part in the importance of the kingdom internationally.

Chariots, of course, need horses, and the horse trade was of great importance, especially to a country like Egypt, where it was difficult to breed the animals. At Megiddo, Thutmose III captured 2,041 horses. Again, Mitanni seems to have been an important source, or channel, of horses. The biblical record indicates that later, Solomon, king of Israel, became one of the great horse traders. The horses of the Late Bronze Age were relatively small animals and horse breeding and the introduction of new types of a heavier horse had important military repercussions in the Iron Age, notably an increase in the use of cavalry, firstly by the army of the Assyrian Empire.

The Amarna Letters detail the many other aspects of the international arms trade of the Late Bronze, from armor to different types of arrows. It is typical of Egyptian depictions that little of this imported weaponry is shown being used by Egyptian soldiers. However, the earliest known iron weapon from Egypt, a dagger from the tomb of Tutankhamun, is identical to one described in the Amarna Letters.

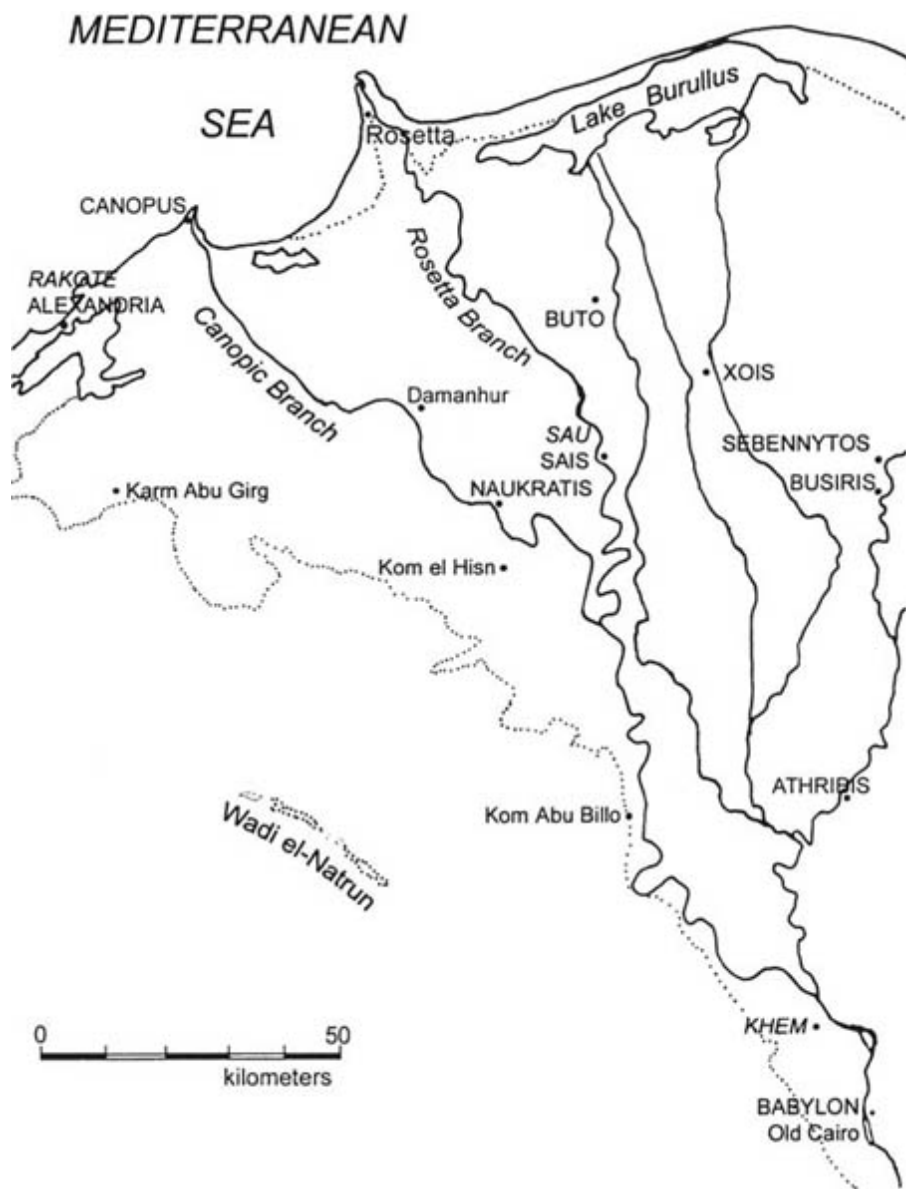
Although the gift exchange between rulers was the main way in which arms were traded, the widespread employment of mercenary soldiers would also have disseminated weapons and techniques of warfare. They should perhaps be considered as part of the arms trade itself. The Amarna Letters include a request by an Egyptian vassal ruler in Palestine for Nubian archers, and a fragmentary papyrus of the same date shows a battle between Libyans and what appear to be Mycenaean soldiers, who should also perhaps be regarded as mercenary troops. There was an increase in the number and ethnic groups of mercenaries in the 19th Dynasty. Some, such as the Shardana, with their distinctive helmets and weapons, are to be found both in the Egyptian army and fighting against the Egyptians alongside the Libyans.

All of the sources indicate the “international” nature of the Late Bronze Age, with the spread of technologies and weaponry through the whole of Mesopotamia, western Asia, the Aegean, and northeast Africa. The chariot, for example, spread to Nubia, presumably as royal gift and army supply from the pharaohs. Although battle scenes show Nubian enemies conventionally as bowmen with relatively little equipment, other sources show the use of chariots by the elite and suggest that they were being manufactured in some centers. The Egyptians also received types of armor, shields, and weapons, notably spears and bows, from Nubia. There is also evidence that horses were being bred in Nubia by the time that the Kushite kingdom conquered Egypt in the eighth century BC. The Libyans, too, acquired foreign weapons. By the 19th Dynasty, the Libyans had chariots, and swords of western Asiatic type. Mycenaean Greece and the Aegean was also part of this network, as evidence from Pylos, Mycenae, and Knossos shows.

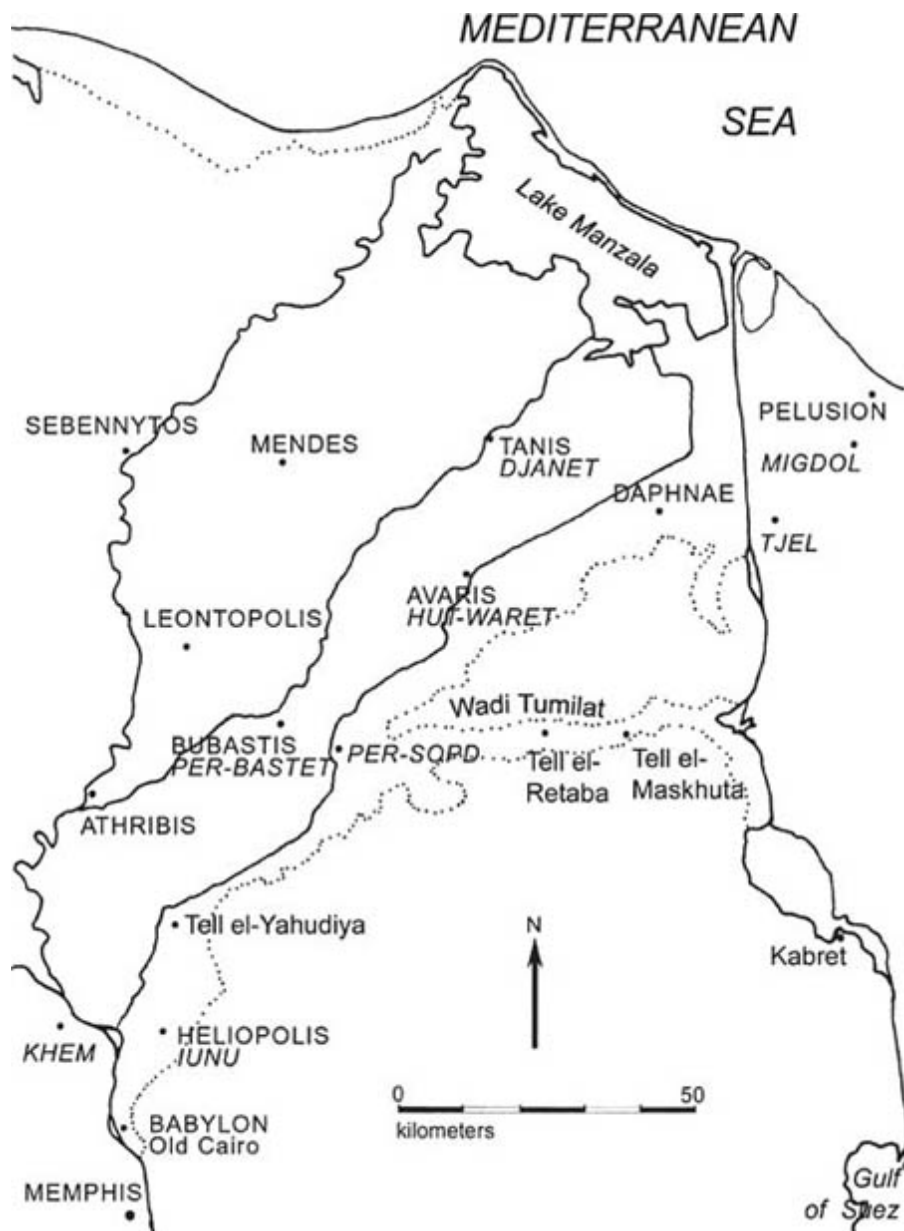
With this interdependence of the states of the Late Bronze Age, it is not surprising that the collapse of the Hittite Empire had widespread repercussions. In the past, this was generally attributed to the “Sea Peoples” as a mass migration of population from the north into western Asia. More recently, this idea of population movement has been challenged, and Robert Drews has re-examined the whole issue in *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993). He emphasizes the increased importance of infantry over chariotry. Certainly, the evidence from the succeeding historical phases (although scanty for Egypt) shows that the massed chariot ranks of the Late Bronze Age were replaced by infantry and cavalry.

The first millennium BC saw the rise of a series of increasingly large empires, which were in turn taken over. The first, the Assyrian Empire,

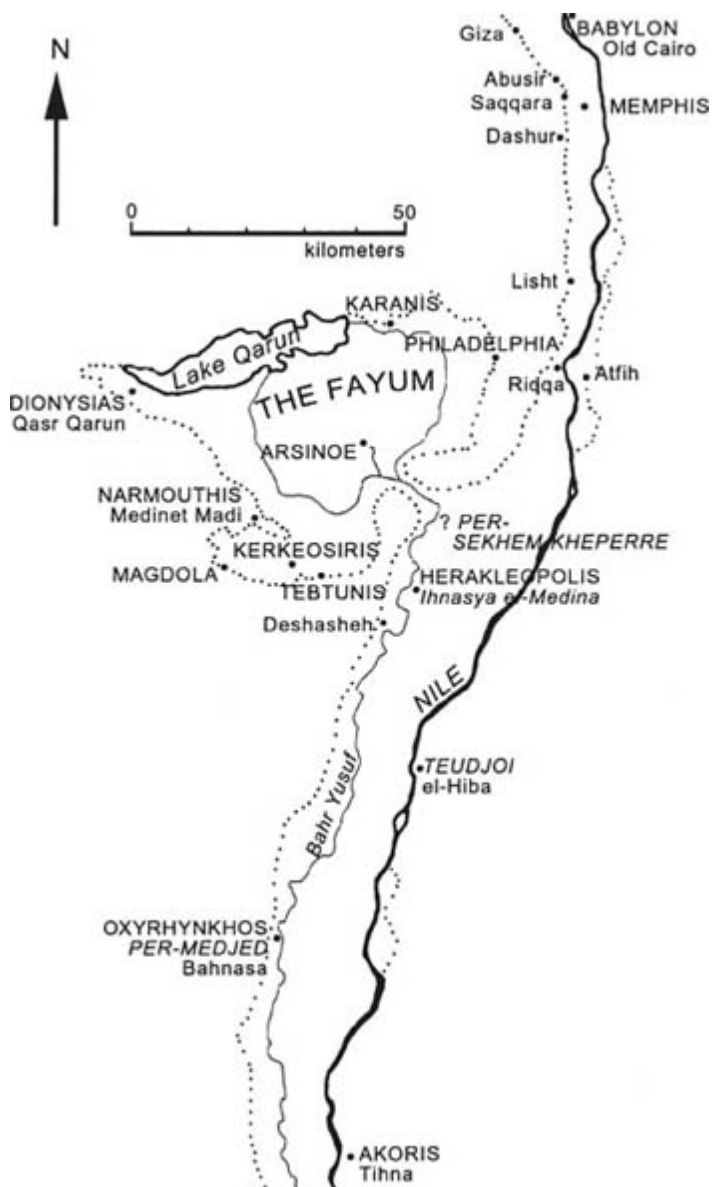
extended its sway over Mesopotamia and westward to the Mediterranean and briefly into Egypt. It was conquered by the resurgence of Babylonian power, but that empire in turn fell to the Medes and then the Persians. Egypt, under the strong rule of the 26th Dynasty, managed to remain independent, even to challenge the power of Babylon, but ultimately fell to the overwhelming might of Persia. Throughout this period, mercenaries played a significant role in the Egyptian army, many coming from southern and western Anatolia, the lands of Caria, and the Ionian coast. The states of the Greek mainland now played an increasingly important role, and sea battles increased in number (or are better documented). It was also the Greek mainland that produced the major new development in warfare, the *phalanx* of pike-men. This formation, developed by Philip II of Macedon, was used with devastating effect by Alexander the Great in his campaigns against Persia and continued to play a major role in the wars of his immediate successors (the *diadochoi*) and the later Hellenistic kingdoms. The armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms were organized and equipped in largely the same ways, and there was frequent defection to an enemy by both troops and commanders. Introductions, such as the use of elephants by the Seleukid kings of Syria, were soon adopted by other monarchs. The fall of the Hellenistic kingdoms to Rome saw the rise of the largest empire, and also the culmination of military standardization. Egypt now shared an army and had military structures of a type that could be found from Britain to Syria.



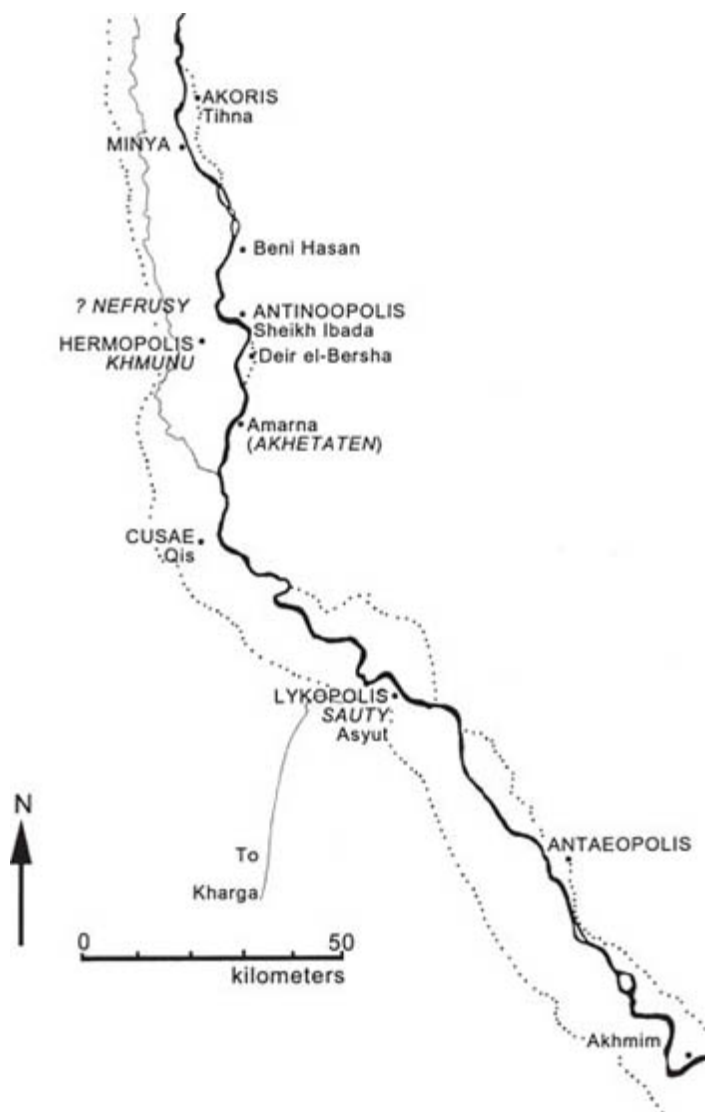
Map of the Western Delta.



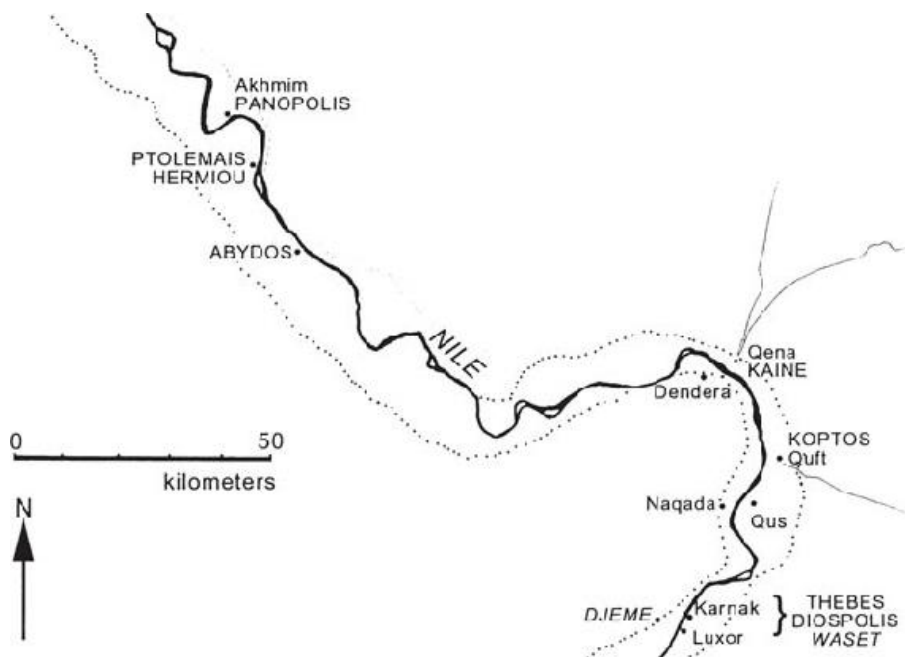
Map of the Eastern Delta.



Map of Middle Egypt from Memphis to Akoris.



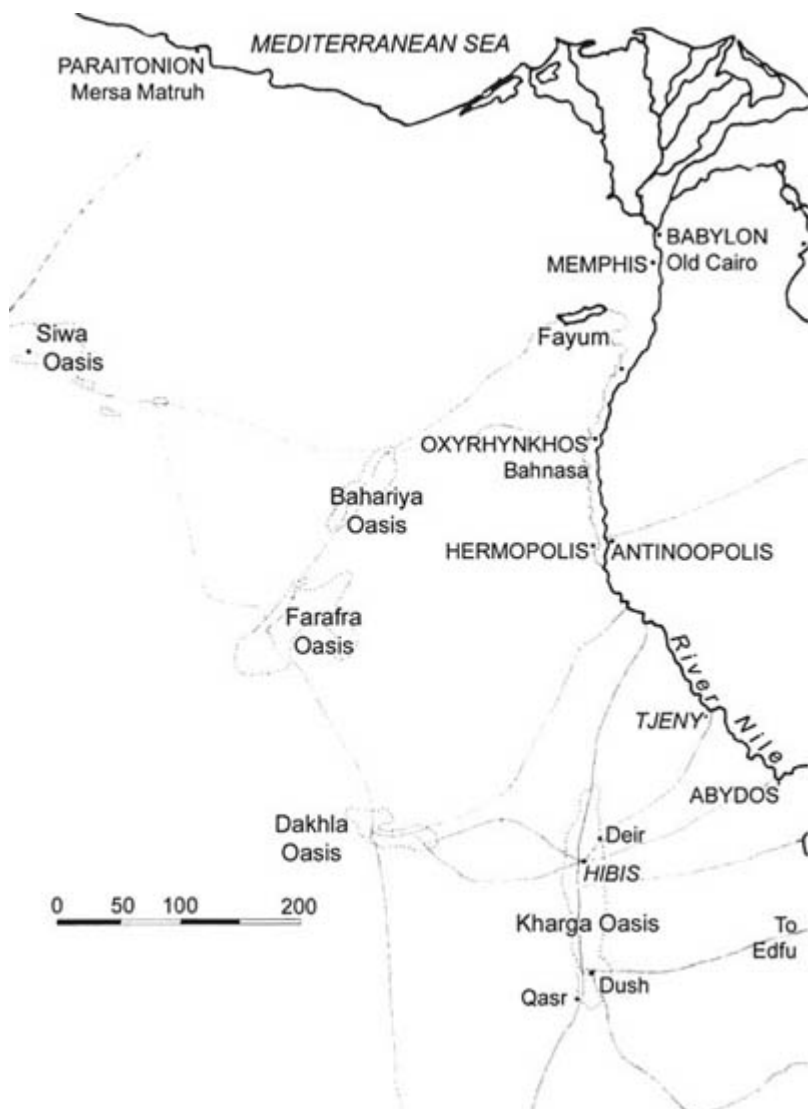
Map of Middle Egypt from Akoris to Akhmim.



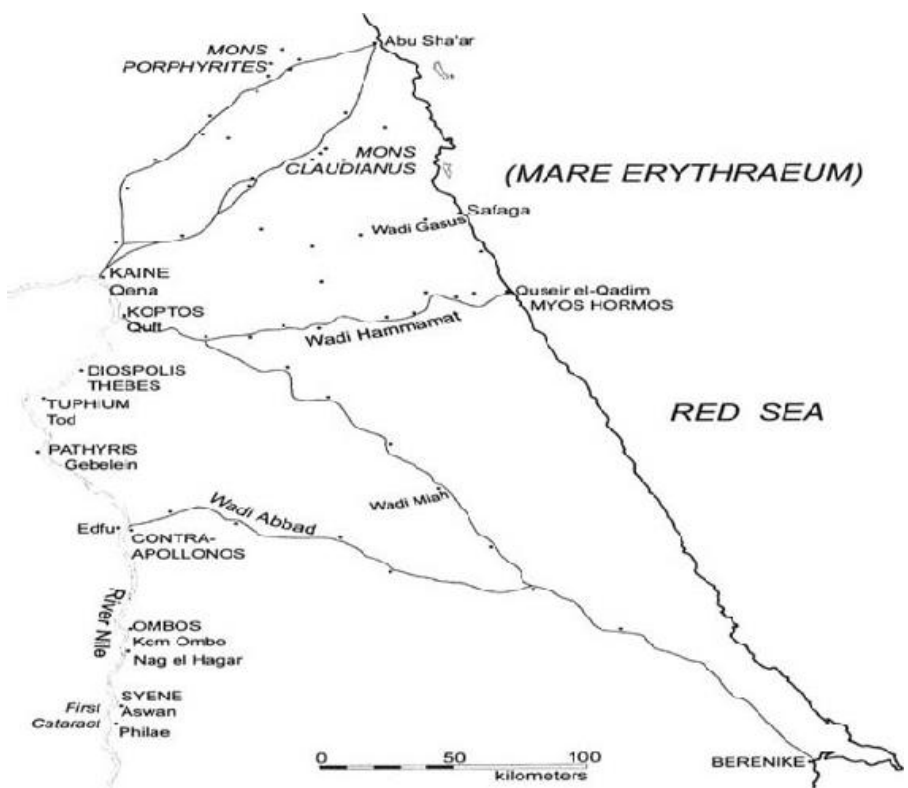
Map of Northern Upper Egypt from Akhmim to Thebes.



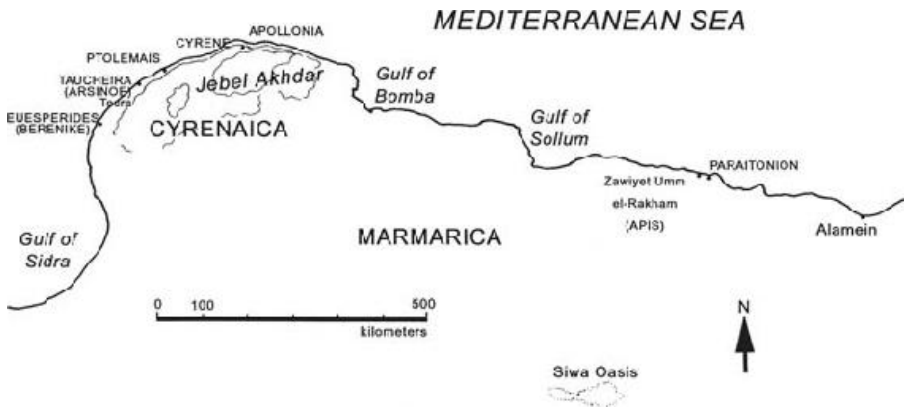
Map of Southern Upper Egypt from Thebes to Aswan.



Map of Western Desert.



Map of Eastern Desert.



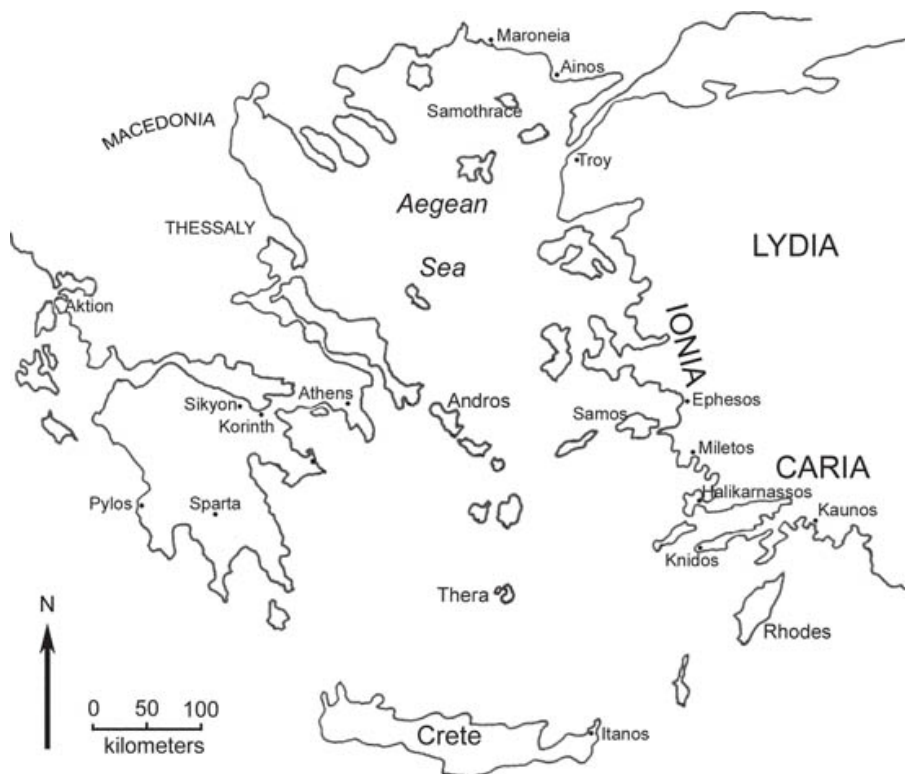
Map of Cyrenaica and the Libyan Coast.



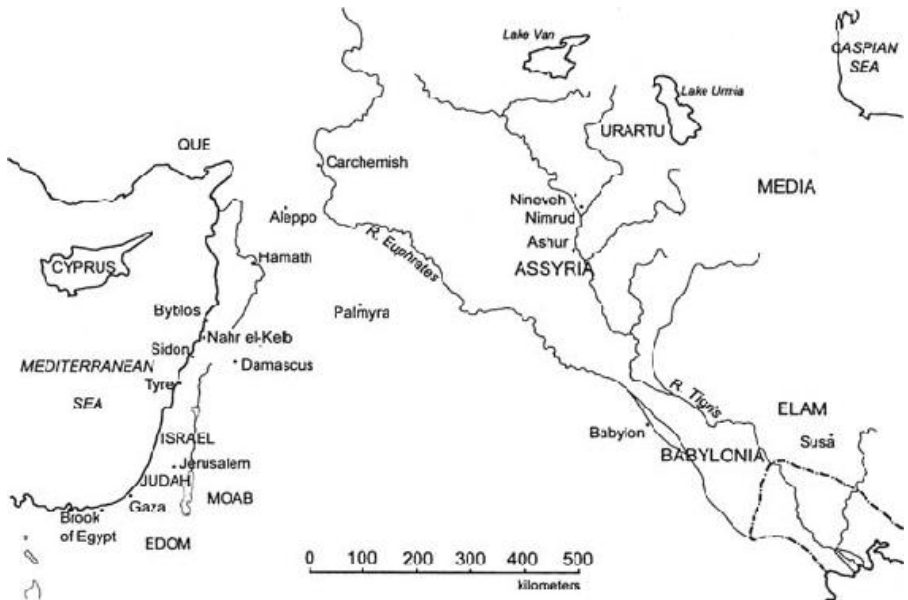
Map of Palestine.



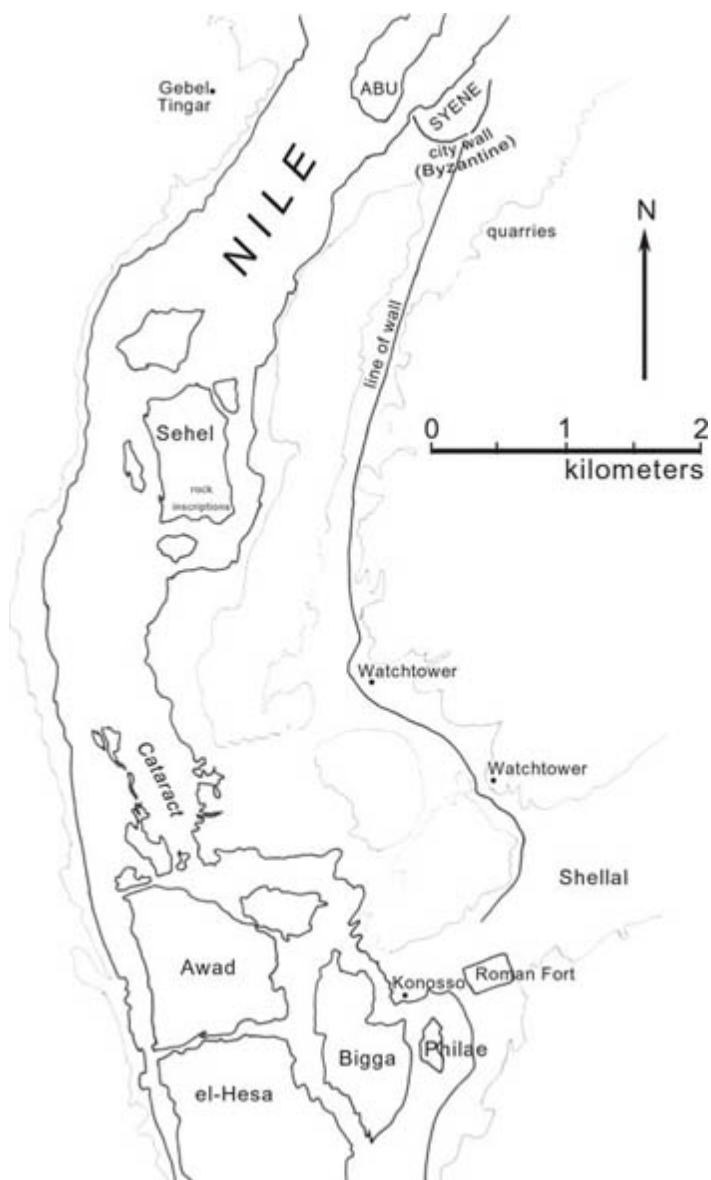
Map of Anatolia and North Syria.



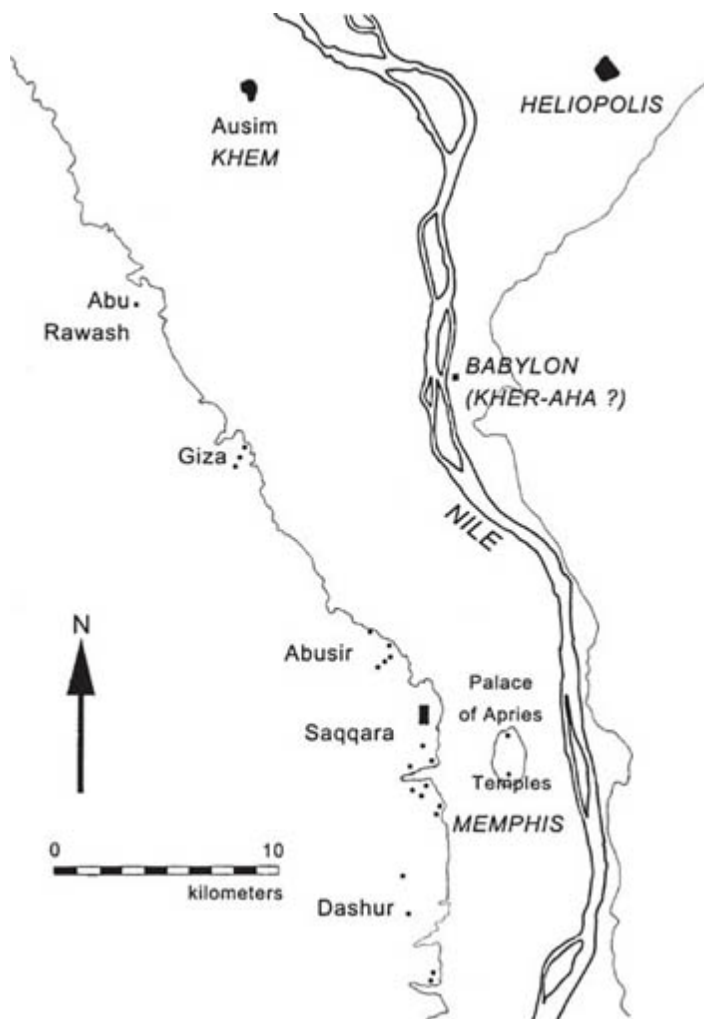
Map of Greece and the Aegean.



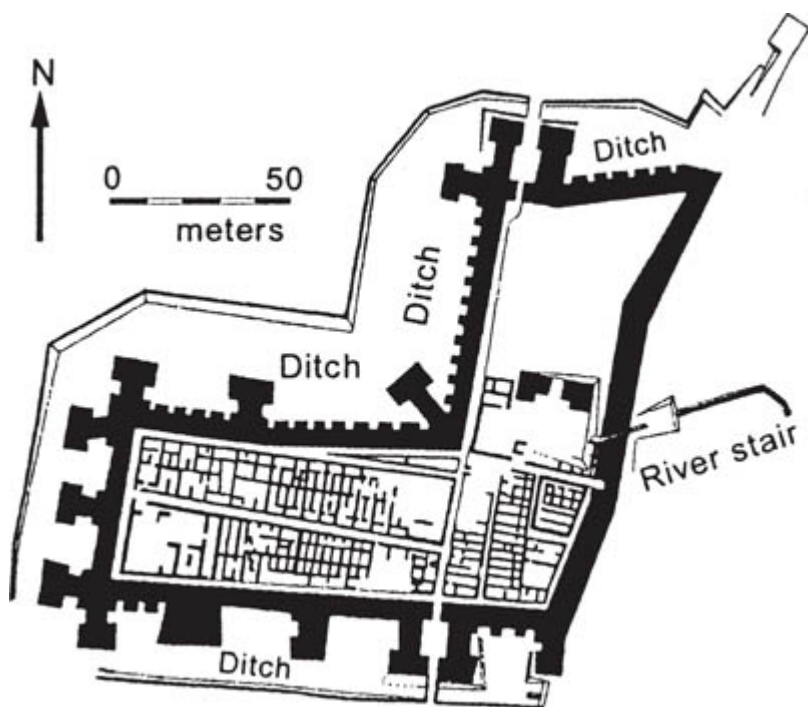
Map of Western Asia at the Time of the Assyrian Empire.



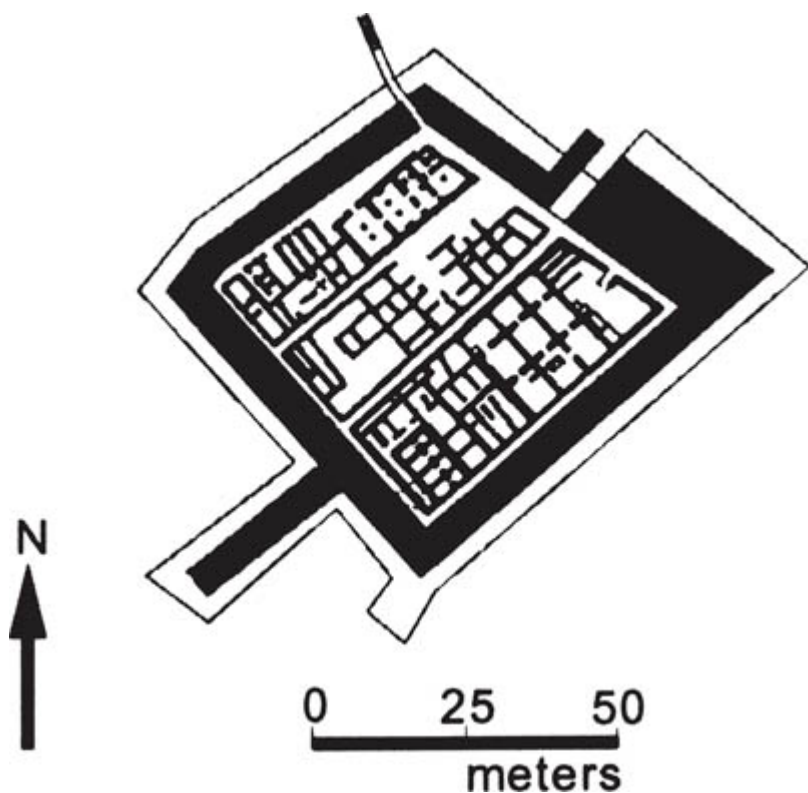
The First Cataract (only the larger islands are shown).



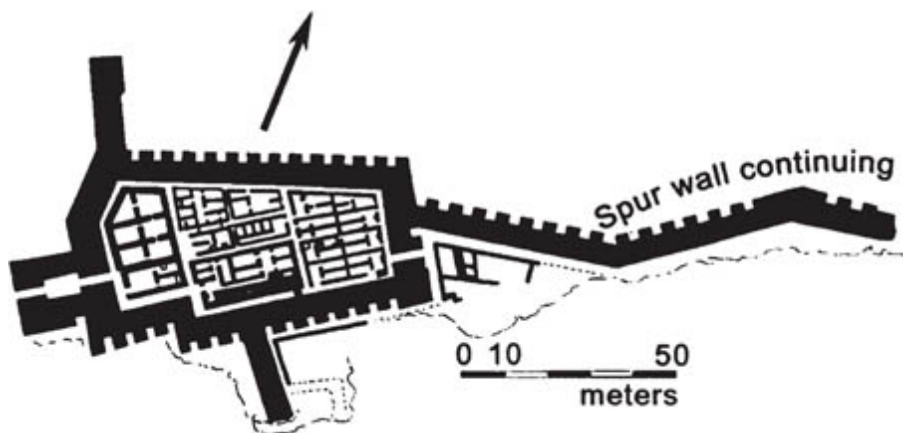
The Memphite Region.



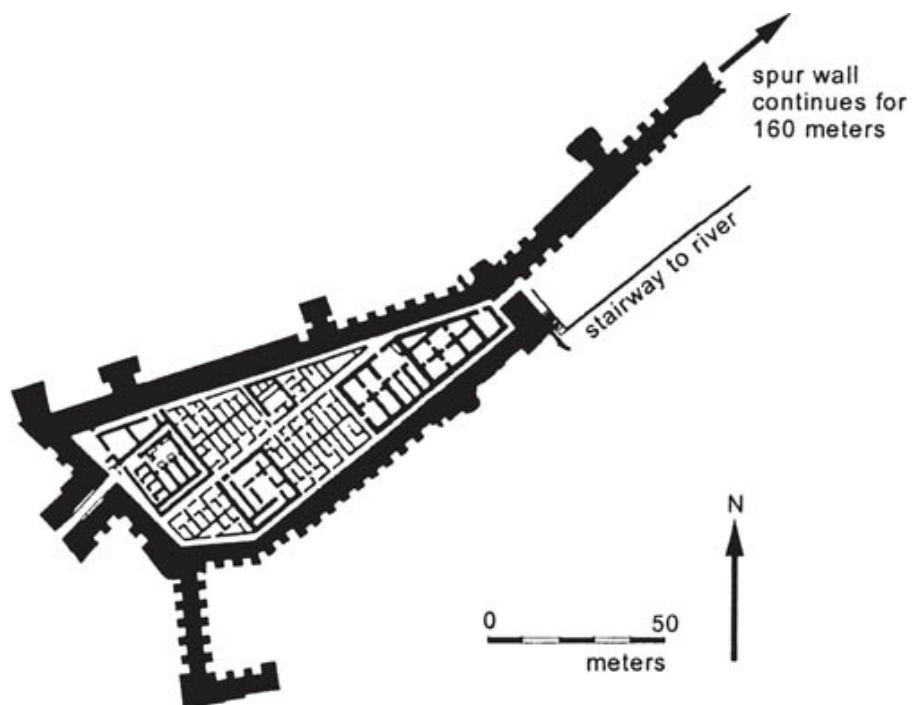
Plan of the Fortress of Semna, after W.B. Emery.



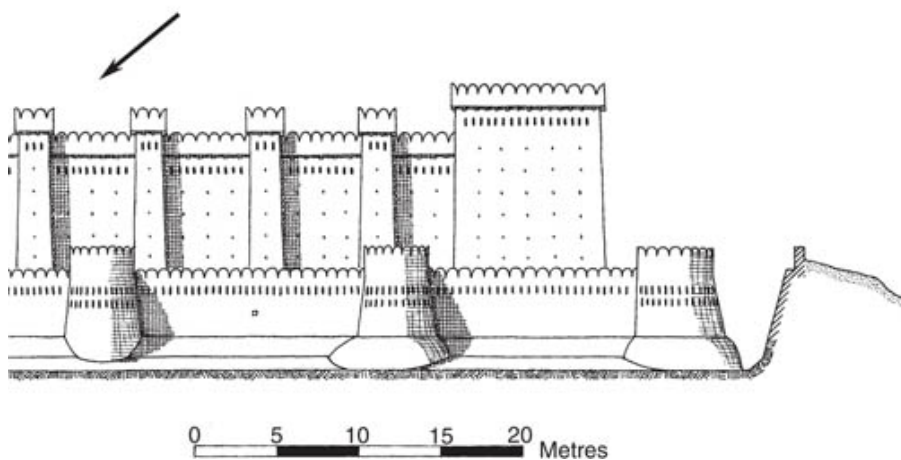
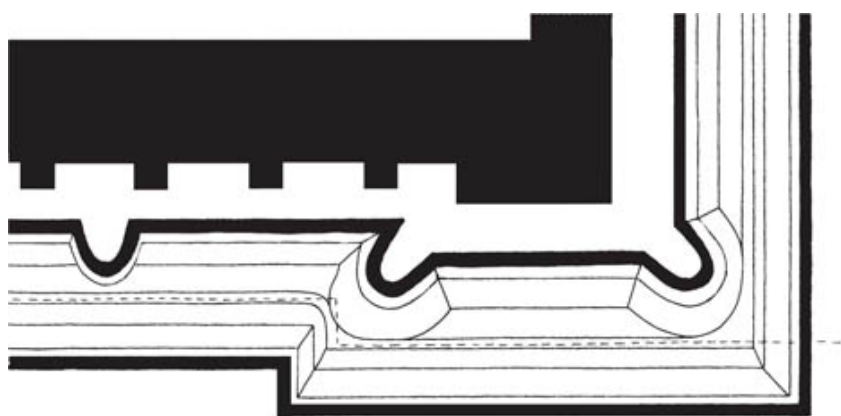
Plan of the Fortress of Kumma, after W.B. Emery.



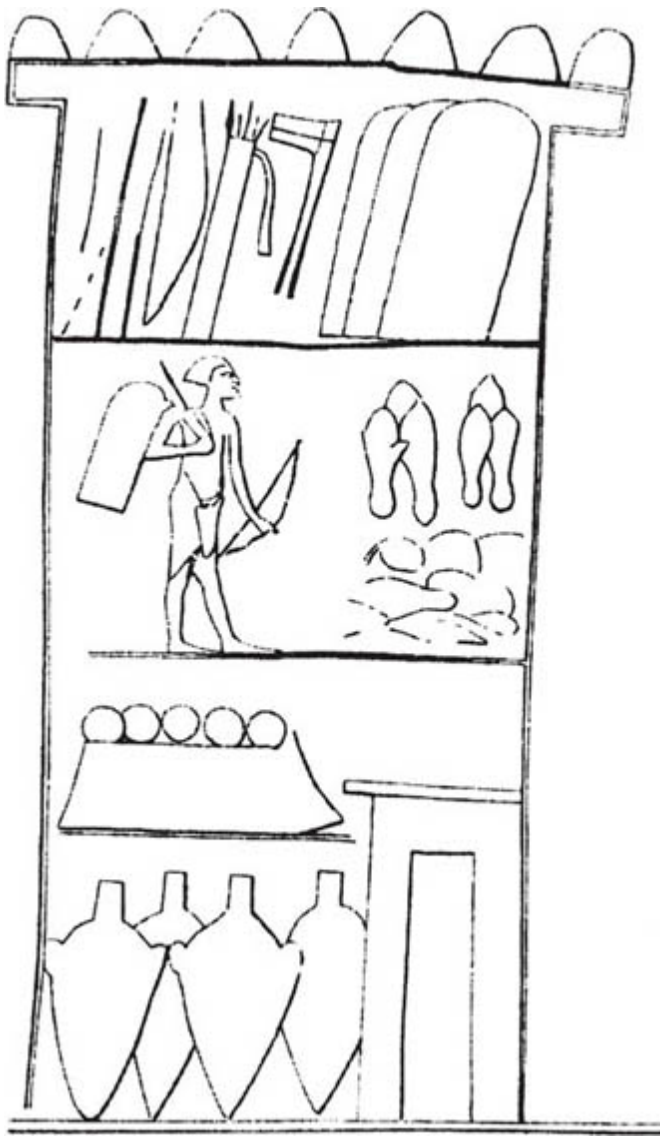
Plan of the Fortress of Shalfak, after W.B. Emery.



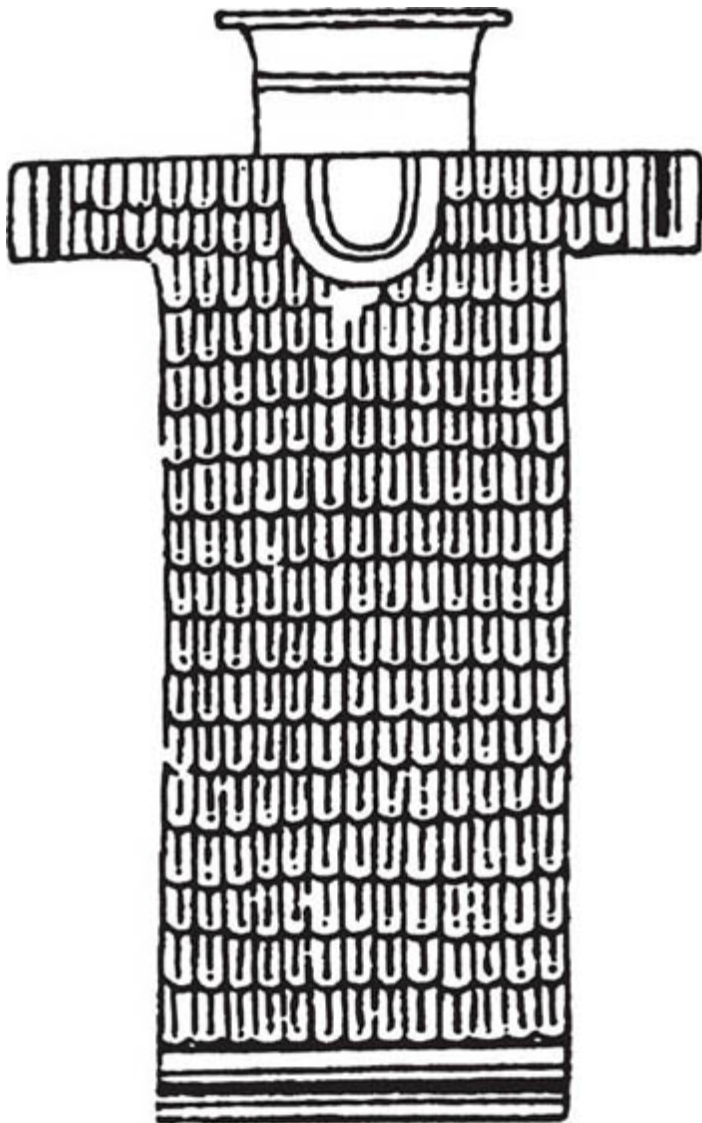
Plan of the Fortress of Uronarti, after W.B. Emery.



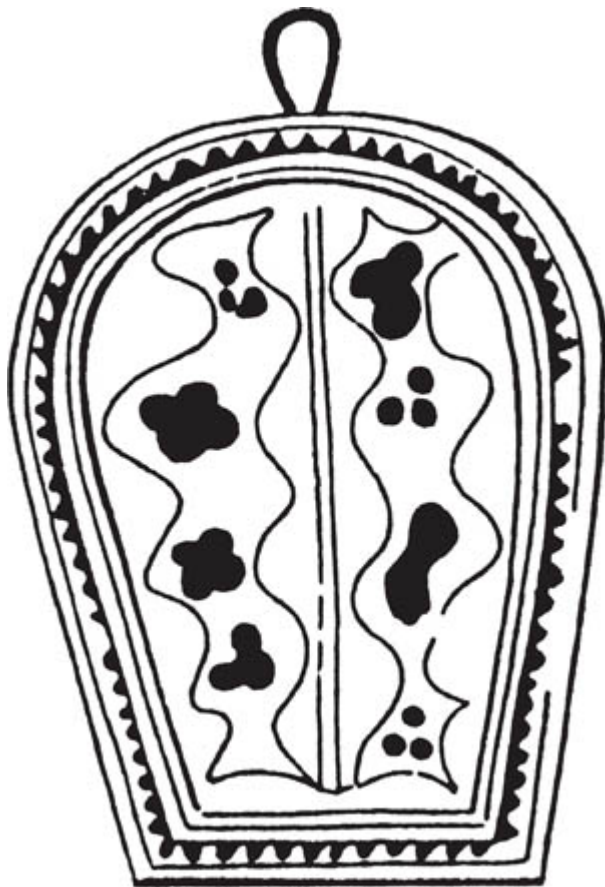
Plan and section of the north defenses of the Inner Fort at Buhen, modified from a drawing by W.B. Emery.



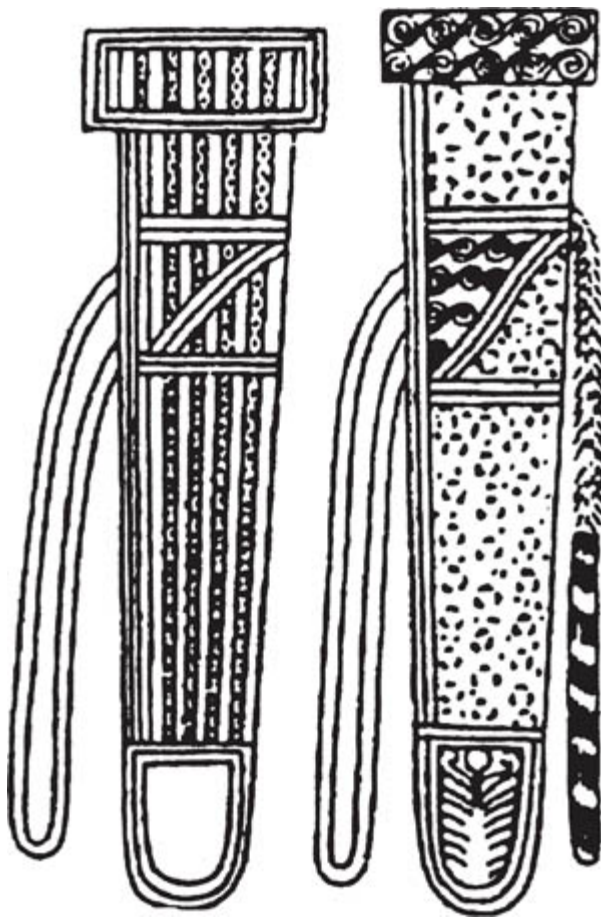
A small battlemented garrison fort at Akhetaten (Amarna) depicted in the tomb of Mahu, chief of the Madjoy, at Amarna. The complete scene shows provisions being brought to the fort. Inside, there are amphorae and foodstuffs, a soldier and spare sandals, shields, axes, bows, and quivers. After N. de G. Davies Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, vol. IV, pl. xxiv.



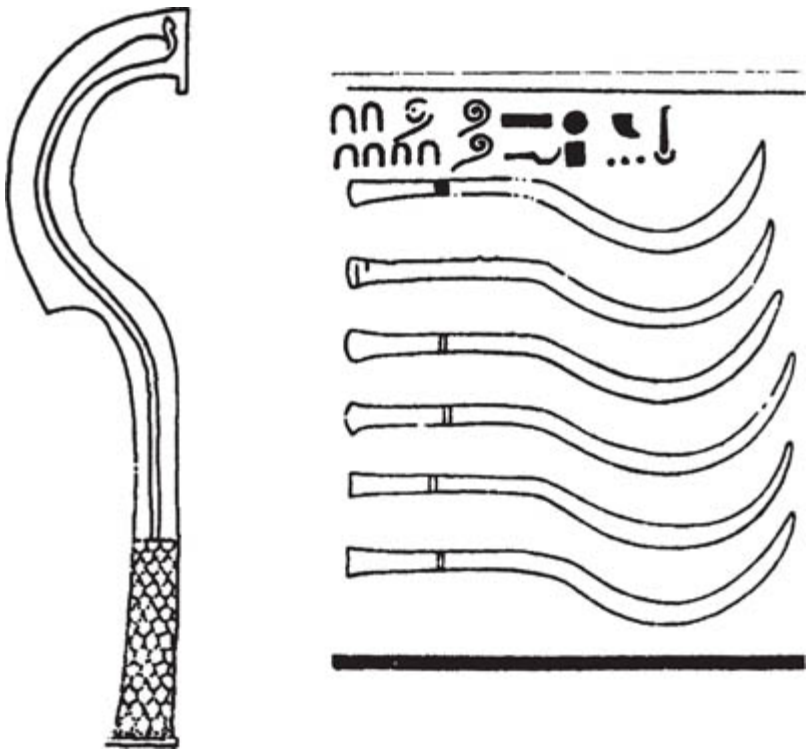
A coat of scale armor after a painting in the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes (reign of Amenhotep II).



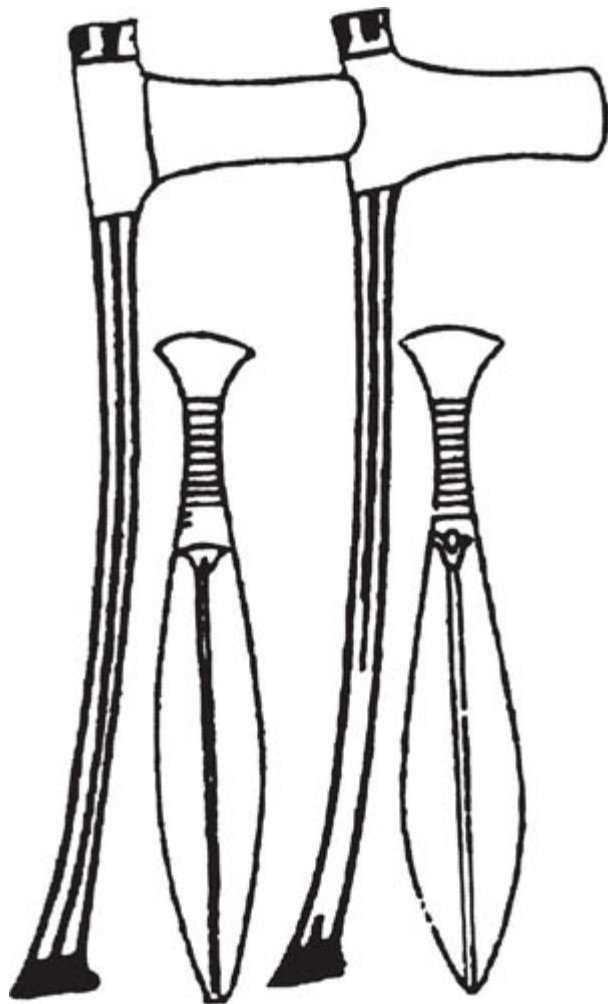
A cowhide shield after a painting in the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes (reign of Amenhotep II) showing the products of royal workshops. The accompanying caption states that 680 were presented to the king.



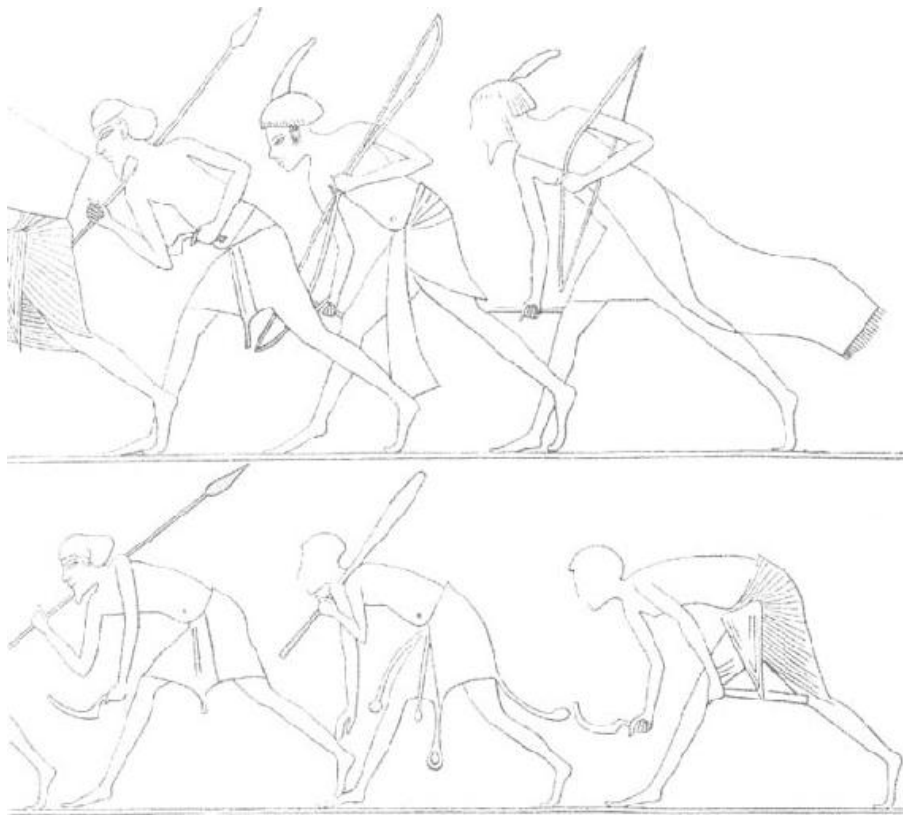
Two quivers after a painting in the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes (reign of Amenhotep II) showing the products of royal workshops; that on the right is made of cheetah skin.



(Left) A khepesh-sword with scaled hand-grip and a ridge in the shape of a cobra. From a scene showing gifts presented to Thutmose IV in the tomb of Tjanuny at Thebes. (Right) A group of khepesh-swords in a painting in the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes (reign of Amenhotep II) showing the products of royal workshops. The accompanying caption states that 360 were presented to the king.



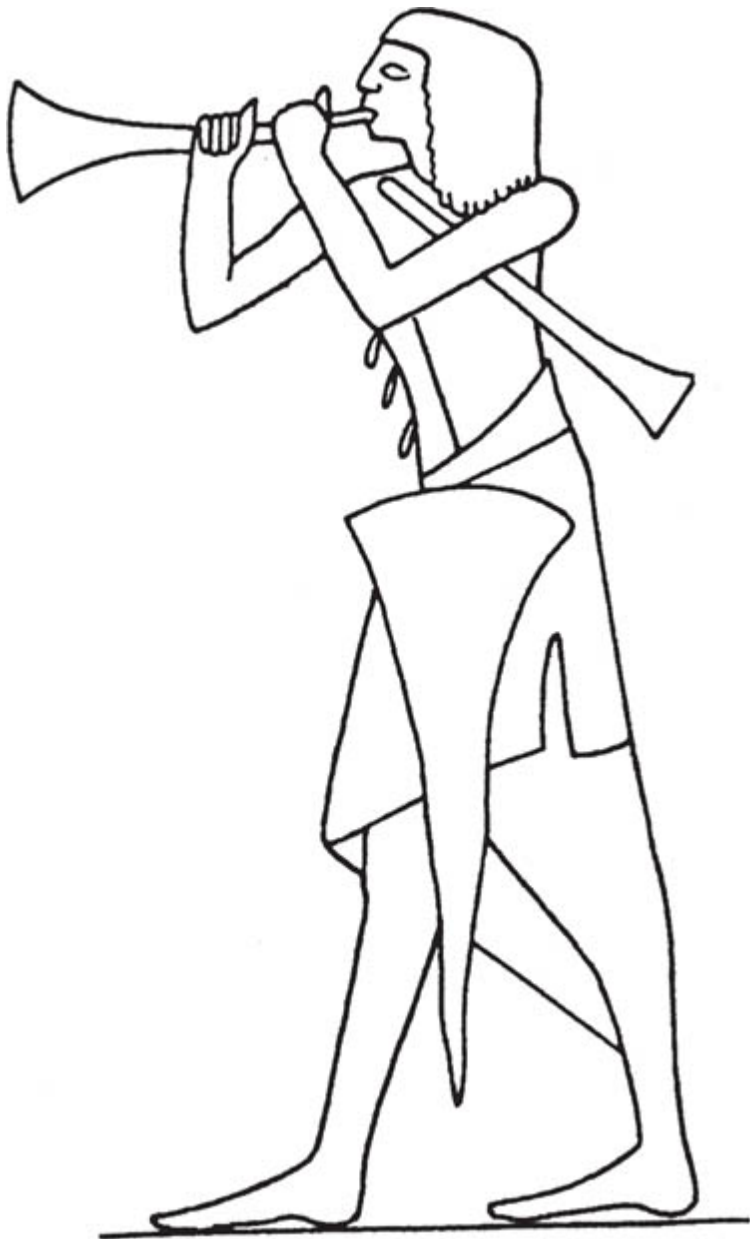
Axes and daggers depicted in a scene of gifts presented to Amenhotep II in the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes.



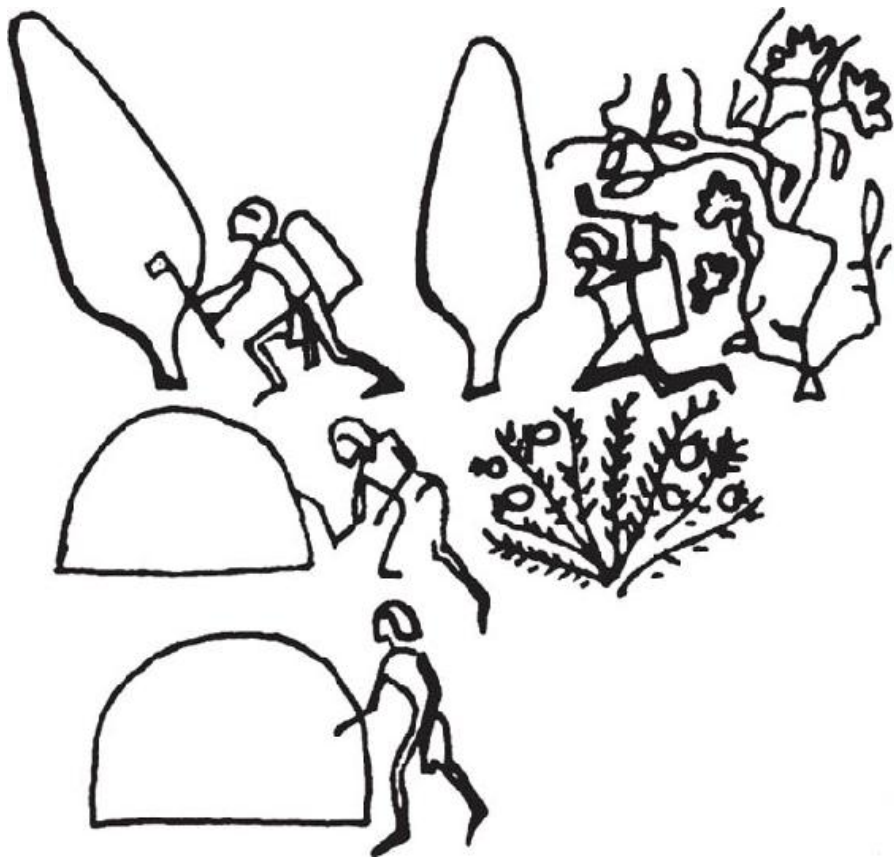
Troops from Akhenaten's bodyguard. In the upper register are an Asiatic with spear and khepesh, a Nubian, and a Libyan, both with bow and axe. The lower register has another Asiatic with spear and khepesh and a Nubian with a cudgel, followed by an Egyptian with a khepesh. From a scene in the tomb of Ahmes at Amarna after N. de G. Davies Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, vol. III, pl. xxxi.



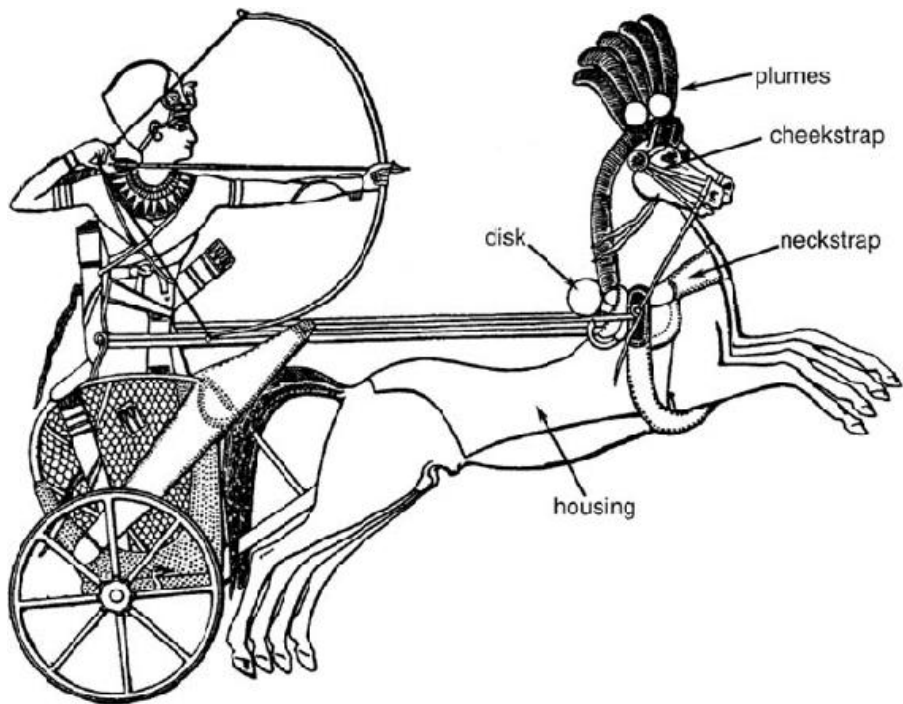
*An Egyptian archer wearing a long robe and pointed helmet. Reign of
Ramesses II.*



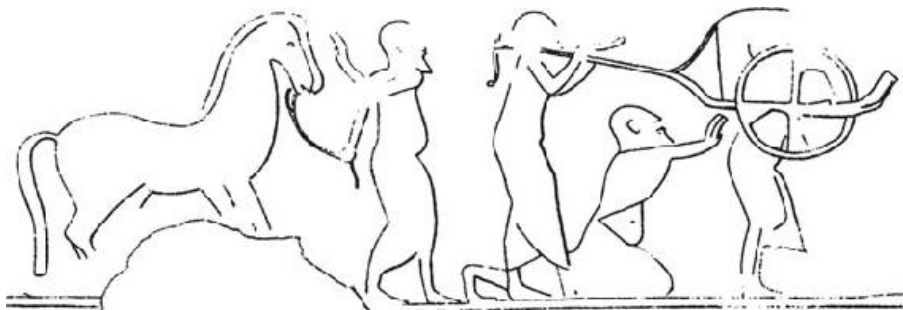
A military trumpeter from a scene of the campaigns of Ramesses II.



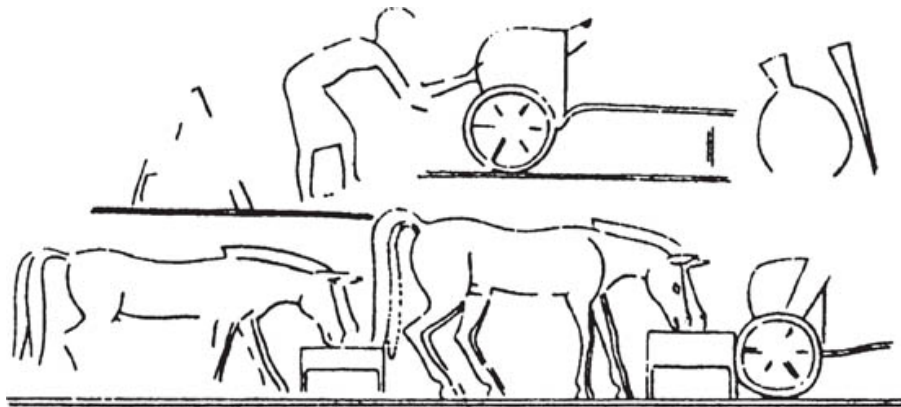
The felling of orchards outside a fortified town in western Asia, from a scene of one of the campaigns of Ramesses II.



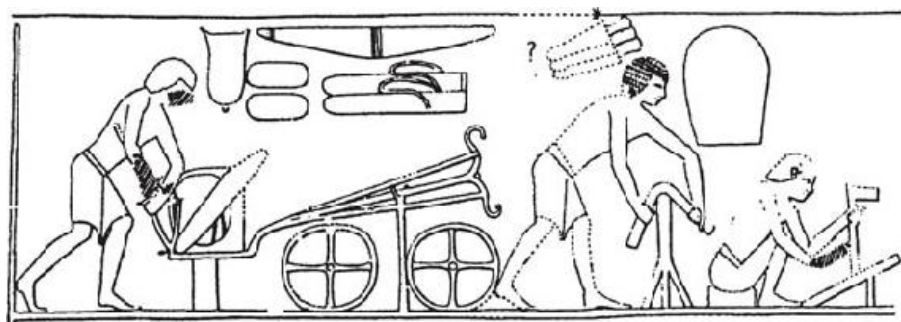
Thutmose IV in his chariot, from a scene on the side of the king's chariot.



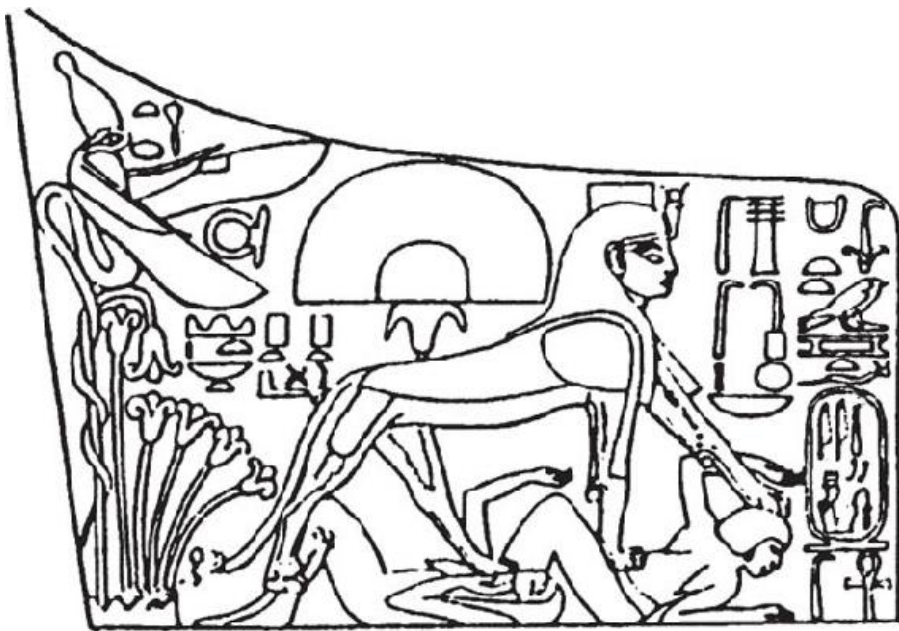
Asiatics bring a chariot and horses as "tribute" to Akhenaten. From a scene in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna, after N. de G. Davies Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, vol. II, pl. xxxix.



Horses feeding and chariots from a scene in the tomb of Tutu at Amarna, after N. de G. Davies Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, vol. VI, pl. xx.



The manufacture of a chariot, and an axe, and leatherworking. A bow case, two quivers, and other chariotry equipment, daggers (?), and a shield are depicted above. From a scene in the tomb of Puyemre at Thebes (reign of Thutmose III).



Queen Tiye as a female sphinx trampling the female enemies of Egypt. From a panel on the side of the queen's throne as depicted in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes.

The Dictionary

– A –

AATA (fl. c. 1530 BC). Opponent of **Ahmose I**. In the autobiography of **Ahmose son of Ebana** the episode follows the Nubian campaign, and it is likely that Aata was a local ruler in **Wawat**. Aata came with an army and ships, but in the outcome he was taken as a living captive and his people were enslaved. The text implies that a whole population was involved and this incident therefore contrasts with the “**rebellion**” of Teti-an referred to in the same autobiography, both in composition and treatment.

ABU. The Egyptian name for the island of **Elephantine** in the Nile at the foot of the First **Cataract**, opposite the town of **Aswan**. Its position at the foot of the cataract ensured its role as an early trading center, and strategic frontier town. By the Middle Kingdom, it was protected by the **fortress** of **Senmut** and a long defensive **wall**, which extended to the head of the cataract and its harbor. **Senusret I** ordered a **canal** to be cleared through the cataract to ease navigation, which was renewed by **Thutmose I**. The tombs of the town’s officials are carved into the cliffs on the west bank of the Nile, at Qubbet el-Hawa. These include the Old Kingdom “controllers of the doors of the south,” responsible for the frontier and expeditions into **Nubia**, especially to **Wawat**, Irtjet, Satju, Yam, and **Kush**. There are informative autobiographical inscriptions in these tombs, notably that of **Harkhuf**.

ACTIUM. *See* AKTION.

AGESILAOS II (c. 445–359 BC). King of **Sparta** in Greece (from 400 BC). Agesilaos commanded the Greek war against Persia in 396–395 BC, receiving aid from the pharaoh **Nefaarud**. Later, the elderly Agesilaos, with an army of Greek **mercenaries** accompanied by a fleet from **Athens**, aided **Djedhor**’s attempt to gain territory in Palestine and **Syria**. His change of allegiance ensured **Nakhthorheb** was successful in his bid for the Egyptian throne (360–359 BC). Agesilaos died in **Cyrenaica** on his way back to Greece.

AHMOSE I (reigned c. 1552–1527 BC). Theban ruler, successor of **Kamose**, who reunited Egypt by defeating the **Hyksos** ruler of **Avaris** in the eastern

Delta. He is recognized in literature as the first pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty and the New Kingdom. His military campaigns, which achieved the reunification of Egypt, are recorded in autobiographical texts of soldiers who served in the wars: **Ahmosé son of Ebana**, and **Ahmosé-Pennekhet**. A brief reference to Ahmosé's war may be preserved on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, and small fragments of battle reliefs have recently been recovered from the pharaoh's temple at Abydos. It seems likely that Ahmosé I was a minor at the death of Kamose (either his elder brother or father), as there seems to be no military activity until the second decade of the reign.

Activities in **Nubia** may have preceded the Hyksos campaigns, which are probably to be placed late in the second decade. Evidence from **Buhen** attests building work by the **viceroy**, Ahmosé-Turo, and it is likely that the Nubian gains of Kamose were consolidated. Ahmosé I's name also occurs in the fortress established at **Sai** north of the Third **Cataract**, indicating an Egyptian advance into Kushite territory. The records of the Hyksos campaigns also show that **Memphis** had been regained by the Theban forces before the commencement of hostilities. The inscription of Ahmosé son of Ebana describes battles in which the **navy** was prominent; the siege of Avaris; the defeat of the Hyksos; and sack of Avaris. The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus carries notes dated to a year 11, attributed by scholars variously to Ahmosé or the Hyksos king Khamudi. These notes record the capture of Heliopolis and Tjaru.

The defeat of the Hyksos in the Delta was followed by the siege of **Sharuhén**, which lasted for three years, or three campaigns. Ahmosé also seems to have campaigned inland from Byblos (which was, presumably, reached by ship). Following the campaigns against the Hyksos, Ahmosé led a military action in Nubia and later quashed the "rebellions" of **Aata** and Teti-an. Aata was probably a local ruler of Lower Nubia (**Wawat**), Teti-an is said to have gathered "malcontents," perhaps representing a pro-Hyksos faction in the north of Egypt itself.

AHMOSE II (AMASIS) (reigned 570–526 BC). Pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty who gained the throne during an army **rebellion** following the failure of a campaign sent against **Cyrene** by **Wahibre** (Apries). Ahmosé appears to have faced opposition from some factions and in 570/569 BC Wahibre attempted to regain the throne with help from **Cyprus** and Ionian and Carian **mercenaries**. In a second attempt to regain his throne, Wahibre enlisted the support of the Babylonian king **Nebuchadnezzar II** who invaded Egypt. Ahmosé gained help from Cyrene (probably sealed with the **diplomatic marriage** alliance reported by Herodotos). The invading force was defeated, and Wahibre was killed. An inscription of Ahmosé attributes the victory to the intervention of the gods and the weather. Ahmosé entered into alliance with Polykrates, tyrant of Samos, from whom he received

soldiers. Ahmose also established a treaty with Croesus of Lydia, (there was a similar treaty between Lydia and **Babylon**). The new threat to Egypt and western Asia was Persia under Cyrus. Lydia was attacked, but Croesus received less help than expected. A Persian attack on Babylon followed (539 BC), but the death of Cyrus (530 BC) relieved Egypt for a brief period.

AHMOSE SON OF EBANA (fl. c. 1560–1500 BC). Military officer in the **navy** who served under **Ahmose I**, **Amenhotep I**, and **Thutmose I**. He was buried in his hometown of **Nekheb** (modern el-Kab), south of Luxor, where an autobiographical inscription records the events of his military service. Ahmose was the son of a soldier who served Seqenenre **Tao**, called Baba (Ebana was the name of his mother). Ahmose's military service began as a youth, before he was married, when he was a soldier on a ship called the "Wild Bull." He served on two more ships, the "Northern" and "Arising in Memphis." At this time he took part in the wars against the **Hyksos** and the naval battle at **Avaris**. He was later involved in the Nubian campaigns of Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I. Apart from the historical value of the texts they indicate the numbers of enemies slain and the rewards for those. Altogether Ahmose cut off eight hands from slain enemies and brought live captives. Some of the captives were given to him as slaves others were exchanged. In return for two Nubian warriors Ahmose received five slaves (sex unspecified), and, for two Nubian men, he was given four Nubian women. Ahmose was rewarded with gold on seven occasions, given a total of 19 slaves and grants of five *arouras* of land in Nekheb (el-Kab). Of particular significance was Ahmose's capture, in one campaign in the reign of Thutmose I, of a **chariot**, **horse**, and soldier. The chariot was still a relatively new development and was presented by Ahmose to the pharaoh, for which he was rewarded with gold. Ahmose rose from being a soldier to become crew commander. His tomb was decorated, at least in part, by his grandson, Pakeri, who was a scribe of the treasury and mayor of Nekheb (el-Kab) and Esna. Ahmose's military service and its material gains might therefore be seen as evidence for **social advancement** of a family.

AHMOSE-PEN-NEKHBET (fl. c. 1550–1470 BC). Served in campaigns from the reign of **Ahmose I** to the coreign of **Thutmose III** and **Hatshepsut**. He was buried in his hometown of **Nekheb** (el-Kab). He records an expedition to **Djahy** (Lebanon) by Ahmose I, which is not documented elsewhere (e.g. **Ahmose son of Ebana**). This is presumed to have taken place after the capture of **Sharuhen**. He served in **Kush** with **Amenhotep I** and with **Thutmose I** in Kush and **Naharin**. He went with **Thutmose II** on an expedition against the **Shasu**.

The text is also valuable for its lists of the **reward** given by various pharaohs for actions on the battlefield. From the Djahy campaign of Ahmose I, Ahmose-pen-Nekhbet brought a living prisoner and a hand. On

the campaign of Amenhotep I to Kush, Ahmose took one living prisoner; in that against *Yamu-kehek*, three hands; during Thutmose I's Kushite expedition, he captured a total of five living prisoners; and in the pharaoh's Naharin expedition, 21 hands with one **horse** and one **chariot**. Under Amenhotep I, he received as reward two bracelets, two necklaces, an armlet, a dagger, a headdress, a fan, and a *mekhtebe* (a type of ornament), all of gold. In a campaign of Thutmose I, he received two bracelets, four necklaces, one armlet, six **flies**, three lion amulets, and two axes, again all of gold. On another occasion, under the same pharaoh, he was rewarded with three bracelets, six necklaces, three armlets, and a *mekhtebe*, all of gold, and a silver axe. No allotments of land are mentioned in the text.

AKHENATEN (reigned c. 1352–1336 BC). Pharaoh of the later 18th Dynasty, son and successor of **Amenhotep III**, ascended the throne as Amenhotep IV, but changed his name early in his reign. There is a possibility of that Amenhotep III and Akhenaten were coregents for up to 12 years, but Egyptologists are still divided on this, and it is not accepted here. The **Amarna Letters** are the principal source for our understanding of Asiatic affairs in the reign, although fraught with problems of chronology and interpretation. Earlier literature painted a picture of the pharaoh as unwarlike, or even a “pacifist,” who let the Egyptian Empire fall apart through inactivity, while devoting himself to the worship of the sun god. The view of Akhenaten as a pacifist can safely be rejected: he is depicted smiting his enemies in the conventional manner of a pharaoh, as is his chief **queen**, Nefertiti. A bodyguard always surrounded the pharaoh and contingents of the army accompany him on his public appearances.

One military action by the Egyptian army in **Nubia**, probably on a small scale, is known from the reign. A fragmentary stela from **Buhen** records a military expedition into the Nubian deserts between years 10 and 12 (the exact reading of the date is uncertain). This was directed against the gold-mining regions in the Wadi Allaqi, the land of **Ikaytja**. There is a fragment of a parallel text from Amada.

Scenes in the tombs of the officials Huya and Meryre II at Amarna show the parade of foreign **tribute** in the “Great Durbar” at Akhetaten in year 12. Such presentations of tribute are frequently associated with foreign wars and consequently it has been suggested that there was a military campaign in that year. Other Egyptologists regard the “Durbar” as part of the ceremonies attending Akhenaten's accession as sole pharaoh following a long coregency with his father (this is controversial). The foreign tribute includes **chariots**, **horses**, and other **weapons** from both Nubia and western Asia, reflecting the documentation of the **arms trade** in the Amarna Letters.

The Amarna Letters are concerned with affairs in Asia. At some point in the reign, the **Hittite** King, Suppiluliuma, conducted a major campaign in

north Syria, seizing Egyptian vassal states. This is probably to be dated between years 12 and 14 of Akhenaten's reign. At the same time, Aziru, ruler of **Amurru**, gained control of Sumur. Aziru also gained control of **Tunip**, and there was a coup in Byblos. Right at the end of Akhenaten's reign (or immediately following it), there was an Egyptian offensive against **Qadesh**, which was followed up in the later years of **Tutankhamun**, probably commanded by **Horemheb**.

AKTION (ACTIUM). Naval battle, 2 September 31 BC, at which the forces of **Kleopatra VII** and Marcus **Antonius** were defeated by those of Octavian (**Augustus**) and the Roman Republic. Aktion is at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf on the western coast of Greece. Antonius pitched camp on the mainland, but malaria and dysentery affected his troops, followed by the defections of some of his leading supporters. Antonius's fleet, along with 200 of Kleopatra's ships sailed to join the land army. But another disaster occurred when, on its arrival, the joint fleet was blockaded in the Gulf. Political factors influenced the decision to attempt withdrawal by sea rather than by land. Illness meant that Antonius did not have enough rowers to man all of the ships, so he equipped 230 and burned the rest. Sources state that Antonius took 20,000 legionaries and 2,000 **archers** and slingers onto his ships constructing firing towers for them at bow and stern. Octavian's fleet of 400 now vastly outnumbered Antonius's and was more experienced. Later claims that Octavian's ships were smaller and more easily maneuvered are probably incorrect. Antonius's ships were allowed to sail out in file through the narrow Gulf. As they spread into line, Octavian's fleet was drawn up against them. Octavian apparently wished to lure the fleet into open water so that his greater numbers could outflank them. He refused to join battle and Antonius had no option but to sail farther out or return to the Gulf. As the fleets moved out and engaged, the center weakened, allowing Kleopatra and her squadron of 60 ships to break through and set sail for Egypt. This had doubtless been prearranged. Antonius managed to follow her, although he had to abandon his flagship. Few of the other commanders were able to break free. About 30 or 40 of Antonius's ships were sunk. The remainder surrendered, although some retreated into the Gulf until the next day. The defeat led directly to the fall of Egypt and its incorporation into the Roman Empire.

ALAMEIN. The existence of a fortress here in the reign of **Ramesses II** has been suggested by some remains, notably granite stele fragments referring to **Libyan Wars**. Estimates of distance between forts along the coastal route from **Rakote** to **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham** also suggest that Alamein was a likely site. Any such fort would have been part of the defense against the **Libyans**, but probably only operated during the early 19th Dynasty.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (III OF MACEDON) (reigned 336–323 BC).

Macedonian king who defeated Darius III and conquered the empire of **Persia**. Following Alexander's defeat of Persian forces at Issos (333 BC) in Asia Minor, the Macedonian adventurer **Amyntas** tried to capture Egypt for personal gain, but was put to death, with his force, by the Persian **satrap** of Egypt. Meanwhile, Alexander's army and fleet proceeded toward Egypt along the Phoenician coast to **Gaza**, which was besieged (September–November 332 BC). With the fall of Gaza, Macedonia's supremacy at sea was unchallenged. Alexander now crossed the **Sinai Peninsula** to **Pelusion** (December 332 BC). Mazaces, the Persian satrap, yielded Egypt to Alexander without making opposition. Alexander installed a garrison in Pelusion and went directly to the capital at **Memphis**. From Memphis, Alexander sailed to Lake Mareotis and founded **Alexandria**, near the small port of Rakote (January 331 BC), before making the long desert journey to the oracle temple of Zeus-Ammon at Siwa. Recognized by the god as his son, and legitimate pharaoh, Alexander returned to Memphis, apparently directly across the desert. While at Memphis, Alexander imposed Macedonian rule on the country. He appointed two of his companions, Pantaleon of Pydna and Polemon of Pella, as commanders of the **garrisons** in Memphis and Pelusion. Lykidas, an Aetolian Greek, was placed in command of the **mercenary** troops, and other military appointments ensured that the security of the country was not under the command of one individual. The Roman writer, Arrian, in his history of Alexander's campaigns based on contemporary sources, observes that Alexander thought that the country's potential strength made it unsafe to be under control of one individual. Leaving Egypt in late spring of 331 BC, Alexander continued his advance into the heart of the Persian Empire, dying at **Babylon** in 323 BC, after which Egypt was seized by the general, later pharaoh, **Ptolemy I**.

ALEXANDRIA. Capital city of the Ptolemies. Founded by **Alexander the Great** in January 331 BC, Alexandria became the greatest Mediterranean port in the Hellenistic period and, with a population of over half a million persons, the second city of the Roman Empire. The population was very mixed, including a large number of **Jews**, and was the site of numerous civil disturbances under the Ptolemies and in Roman times. The Alexandrian mob took sides in the **dynastic wars** of the Ptolemies, often with devastating results. In the first century AD, there were race riots against the Jews.

Shortly after the accession of **Ptolemy IV**, the exiled king of **Sparta**, Kleomenes III, attempted a coup but was swiftly put down. There were further problems in the city following the death of Ptolemy IV, the murder of his widow, and the accession of **Ptolemy V** (204–03 BC). This culminated in mob violence.

In the reign of **Ptolemy VI**, Alexandria was besieged by **Antiochos IV**,

the **Seleukid** king of **Syria**, during the Sixth **Syrian War** (168 BC), but he failed to take the city. A few years later (about 165 BC), an Egyptian courtier, Dionysios Petoserapis, started a **rebellion** among the soldiers stationed in Eleusis, to the east of the city. He raised about 4,000 rebels, but they were defeated and fled to the *chora* (countryside), where he received some popular support.

A Roman army under the command of Aulus Gabinius, with Marcus **Antonius** leading the cavalry, was sent by Pompey to restore **Ptolemy XII** (Auletes) in 55 BC. There was a battle outside the city, followed by a naval battle on the Nile. Although Gabinius returned to Rome, a force of legionaries, the **Gabinians**, remained in the city.

There were two major military actions in the city in the reign of **Kleopatra VII**. In 48 BC, the arrival of **Iulius Caesar** in pursuit of Pompey led to the **Alexandrian War** and the restoration of Kleopatra to the throne. In 30 BC, the forces of the future emperor **Augustus** arrived outside of the city where Kleopatra and M. Antonius returned following their defeat at **Aktion** the preceding year. On 1 August 30 BC, Augustus entered the city. This was followed shortly after by the deaths of Antonius and Kleopatra and the appointment of a Roman **prefect**, the first being **Cornelius Gallus**.

In 38 AD, the appearance of the Judaeen tetrarch Agrippa, a friend of the reigning emperor, Caligula, provoked anti-Jewish riots and desecration of synagogues. These are the first racist attacks by Greeks on Jews in Alexandria. The prefect failed to intervene and the army did not play a major role. There were further Jewish-Greek riots in the city in 55 AD, shortly after the accession of the emperor Nero. This was connected with the attempt by a large group of Egyptian Jews to liberate Jerusalem from Roman rule. Later, in 66 AD, a Jewish rebellion in Palestine led to further conflict in Alexandria, which had to be suppressed by the prefect **Iulius Alexander**, who ordered an attack on the Jewish quarter of the city.

On 1 July 69 AD, Iulius Alexander formally proclaimed Vespasian Roman emperor in opposition to Vitellius with the backing of the legions of Syria and Egypt. The new emperor went in person to Alexandria to ensure that the corn supplies to Rome were cut off if necessary, but received the news of the defeat of Vitellius and that he was recognized as emperor in Rome.

In the reign of Trajan was a major **Jewish revolt**, which affected most of the eastern provinces (115–117 AD). The Greek population was besieged in Alexandria until it was relieved by an army and fleet under Quintus Marcius Turbo. There were several battles before the uprising was suppressed. Turbo then ordered the rebuilding of the fortress of **Babylon**.

There was further civil disturbance in Alexandria in the reign of Hadrian, apparently over the housing of the sacred Apis bull. This is another instance of the violent outbursts resulting from religious matters that characterized the city. A rebellion in the reign of Antoninus Pius (reigned 138–161 AD) is

badly documented, although one (not entirely trustworthy) source claims that the prefect was killed. There was a much more widespread Egyptian rebellion in the reign of Marcus Aurelius that began with the **Boukoloi**. The rebels nearly captured Alexandria but were defeated by the governor of Syria, Avidius Cassius, in 172 AD. Following a false report of the emperor's death, Avidius Cassius was proclaimed emperor (175 AD) supported by the prefect of Egypt, Caius Calvisius Statianus, but the rebellion came to a swift end.

The emperor Caracalla visited Alexandria in 215 AD. Caracalla sought to emulate some of the great heroes such as Alexander the Great and Achilles and as a result had been mocked by the Alexandrians. In revenge, Caracalla ordered the massacre of a large number of citizens, and the city was divided into two parts with a wall. The emperor also installed the legionary troops inside the city rather than, at Nikopolis, outside. Following Caracalla's death and the accession of Macrinus (in 217 AD), new conflict broke out in Alexandria. Elagabalus, claiming to be Caracalla's son, was proclaimed emperor by the Syrian troops and supported by the Roman garrison in the city, but the citizens and the new prefect opposed him. Battle ensued in which the military triumphed after considerable bloodshed on both sides. From this time on, both Egypt and Alexandria ceded their importance in the empire: the country, as a corn supplier, to Africa, and the city, to Antioch.

There was further fighting between factions in the reign of Valerian (253–260 AD). In 262 AD, the Alexandrine mob proclaimed the prefect Marcus **Iulius Aemilianus** emperor. After some successes in Upper Egypt, supporters of the emperor Gallienus arrived in Alexandria, and the city was divided into two warring factions. The troops of Gallienus ultimately won, and Aemilianus was captured and sent to Rome. Alexandria was left a wreck with a much-reduced population. Shortly afterward, in 268 AD, Alexandria was captured by the Palmyrene army of **Zenobia**. Shortly after his accession in 270 AD, the emperor **Aurelian** went in person to regain control of Egypt. He was partly successful, ousting the Palmyrenes from Alexandria. Also at this time sources claim that an Alexandrian merchant, **Firmus**, attempted to proclaim himself emperor.

In about 296 AD, Alexandria again proclaimed a rival emperor, the Roman officer, Lucius Domitius Domitianus. The emperor **Diocletian** had to come in person to restore order. Alexandria was besieged for several months, before being captured, probably in 298 AD.

Under the later Roman Empire, a new source of civil dissension in Alexandria was the rapid spread of Christianity. The fourth and fifth centuries were marked in Alexandria by religious disputes that sporadically erupted in violence. They began with a major theological controversy between the Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, and his rival, Arius, that was only partly resolved by the Council of Nicaea (325 AD). The "Arian" dispute continued to erupt in succeeding reigns and violence was frequently

associated with the imposition of bishops from Constantinople. Later in the fourth century, the resurgence of paganism, in the reign of Julian (361–63 AD), led to riots and attacks on temples, particularly that of Sarapis, which was one of the greatest symbols of paganism in Alexandria. In 391, Theodosius I proclaimed Christianity the state religion and ordered the closure of the temples. There was still a flourishing philosophical school at Alexandria, and the savage murder of Hypatia, a leading Neoplatonist, at the instigation of the bishop of Alexandria, and the violent destruction of the temple of Sarapis, reveals the continued tensions in the city. Even after Christianity had triumphed, the installation of Alexandrian bishops was usually marked by riots.

In the reign of Phocas (602–610 AD), Heraclius rebelled against the emperor and his troops landed in Egypt, gaining Alexandria, which they held against Byzantine reinforcements. Shortly after Heraclius was recognized as emperor (610 AD), the forces of the Sasanid king of Persia, Khosroes II, captured Egypt, and Alexandria was filled with refugees. It was 10 years before Heraclius could recover Egypt, but only briefly. The capture of Alexandria in 642 AD marked the fall of Byzantine Egypt to the Arab forces of ‘**Amr Ibn-al ‘asī**.

ALEXANDRIAN WAR (48–47 BC). The principal historical sources are the work entitled the *Civil War* (*De bello civico*) written by **Iulius Caesar** and its continuation *On the Alexandrian War* (*De bello Alexandrino*), which was probably written by one of his officers. Following his defeat by Caesar, the Roman general Pompey had fled to Egypt, which had previously supported his cause. On his arrival, however, the young Egyptian pharaoh, **Ptolemy XIII**, ordered his murder. Four days later Iulius Caesar arrived in pursuit of Pompey, with 10 warships and a force of 3,200 infantry and 800 cavalry. Shortly afterward, **Kleopatra VII**, who had been ousted by her brother, managed to gain entry to Alexandria and access to Caesar, who attempted to reinstate her alongside her brother. Ptolemy XIII was popular in Alexandria, and his courtiers tried to prevent a reconciliation with Kleopatra.

Ptolemy recalled the Egyptian army, including a Roman contingent, the **Gabinians**, under the command of Achilles. Caesar was taken by surprise as the army marched on Alexandria and did not have enough troops to risk confrontation outside of the city. Caesar now took Ptolemy hostage, and as a result, a nationalist, anti-Roman mood soon grew in Alexandria. The war in the city began in November 48 BC and was concentrated around the Great Harbor and the palace quarter. Caesar managed to capture the Egyptian royal fleet of 72 ships, but in order to prevent it falling into enemy hands, set it on fire. Another Ptolemaic princess, Arsinoe, managed to escape from the palace, and joining Achilles, was proclaimed queen by the Alexandrians. Caesar released Ptolemy XIII from custody in the hope that

peace could be negotiated, but the pharaoh immediately joined his army.

Power struggles among the different leaders of the Egyptians resulted in the death of Achillas. In March 47 BC, Caesar's relieving army under the command of Mithridates of Pergamon approached **Pelusion** from Judaea. It included a contingent of Jewish troops and the Jewish high priest Hyrcanus himself. This won over the **Jews** of Alexandria to Caesar and Kleopatra. The army skirted around the Delta and approached Alexandria where they confronted the army of Ptolemy XIII. Caesar and his force managed to leave the city and join with Mithridates, and the decisive battle took place on 27 March 47 BC. The Egyptian army was defeated and Caesar returned triumphantly to Alexandria. The young pharaoh Ptolemy fled, and was drowned, and Arsinoe was captured and sent to Rome. Kleopatra was restored as ruler, in association with a younger brother, Ptolemy XIV.

AMANIRENAS (fl. 30–20 BC). Meroitic Kandake (**queen**). Amanirenas was probably the ruler of **Meroe** who led her forces into Lower **Nubia** and confronted the Roman army of **Augustus**, under the **prefect, Petronius**.

AMARNA LETTERS. A collection of clay tablets with texts written in the Akkadian language found at the site of el-Amarna (the ancient city of Akhetaten) in Middle Egypt. They are a part of the diplomatic correspondence of the reigns of **Amenhotep III**, **Akhenaten**, and **Tutankhamun**, mostly letters received from other rulers, such as Tushratta of **Mitanni**, or Egyptian vassals in the Levant. They are valuable source of information on local affairs in the Levant and north Syria and for **diplomatic marriage** and **gift exchange**. The principal towns and territories mentioned are: Alashiya (**Cyprus**), **Amurru**, **Assyria**, Arvad, **Babylon** (as Karduniash), Byblos (Gubla), **Canaan** (as Kinakhkhi), **Gaza**, Hanigalbat (Mitanni), the **Hittites**, **Jerusalem**, **Joppa** (Yapu), Lachish, Lukki, **Megiddo**, **Niy**, **Nukhasse**, **Qadesh**, Sumur, **Tunip**, Tyre, and Ugarit.

AMASIS. *See* AHMOSE II.

AMENEMHAB (fl. c. 1460–1400 BC). Amenemhab served in the campaigns of **Thutmose III** and **Amenhotep II**. He left an autobiographical inscription in his tomb at **Thebes** but this is not strictly chronological. He records his service in the sixth campaign of Thutmose **III** (year 30) directed against **Qadesh**; the eighth campaign (year 33) and the capture of Sendjar, three battles in **Naharin** and the elephant hunt in **Niy**; the year 35 campaign in Takhsy; that of year 39 in the **Negeb**; and that of year 42, which saw the capture of Qadesh.

AMENEMHAT I (reigned c. 1985–1955 BC). First pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty. He is generally identified with the Vizier Amenemhat who served Mentuhotep IV, but it is unknown how he attained supreme power. His

reign saw military expansion in **Nubia**. He also defended the eastern frontier with the **Walls of the Ruler**. The papyrus document known as *The Instruction of King Amenemhat I* begins with the pharaoh's description of his own murder, and the caution that his son should be wary of palace plots. The introduction to the *Tale of Sinuhe* also suggests that the pharaoh might have been murdered while his coregent, **Senusret I**, was on a campaign against **Libyans**.

Extensive campaigns in Nubia were led by the Vizier Inyotef-iqer and by Senusret I. The chronology of the actions depends on whether the idea of a coregency between father and son is accepted: it is a subject that still divides Egyptologists. There are indications in some of the rock inscriptions that document the campaigns that local Nubian rulers had assumed royal style in the late 11th Dynasty. Initially, there might have been no Egyptian opposition to them, and they might have been recognized as vassals. However, the Nubian kings seem to have asserted their independence in the reign of Amenemhat, and this could have stimulated the prolonged wars that brought the whole of Lower Nubia under Egyptian control, followed by the defense of the Second Cataract. An inscription of Inyotef-iqer alludes to "him who rebelled against the king." Another text indicates that the Vizier and army had been active for 20 years in Nubia, and that the final act had been the sailing of the royal flagship through Lower Nubia, destruction of villages, and the cutting down of trees.

An Asiatic campaign might have been associated with the defense of the eastern **border** and the building of the Walls of the Ruler.

AMENEMHAT II (reigned c. 1922–1878 BC). Pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty.

The documentation of foreign affairs in this reign is not as rich as that for his predecessors, **Amenemhat I** and **Senusret I**. There was a commercial expedition on the Red Sea to **Punt** and the building of the Nubian **fortifications** continued. An inscription beneath the defensive **wall** between the First **Cataract** and **Aswan** is dated jointly to Amenemhat II and **Senusret II**, suggesting that the wall, perhaps to be identified with the **fortress** of **Senmut**, was built at this time.

AMENEMHAT III (reigned c. 1855–1808 BC). Pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty.

Although there are many monuments of this reign, none carry any specifically military information. It can be assumed that the building activities of his father, **Senusret III**, in the region of the Second **Cataract** were completed.

AMENHOTEP I (reigned c. 1527–1506 BC). Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty.

Son and successor of **Ahmose I**. His reign consolidated the achievements of his father. The military events are recorded in the autobiographical inscriptions of **Ahmose son of Ebana** and **Ahmosepen-Nekheb**. A

campaign in **Kush** is referred to in the texts, and inscriptional material from the island of **Sai** suggests that the **fortress** there was built about this time. One fragmentary inscription attributed to the pharaoh indicates activities in Asia in the Orontes Valley near **Tunip**. Unfortunately, many monuments of this reign were later dismantled and evidence from them is only now being brought to light.

AMENHOTEP II (reigned c. 1427–1401 BC). Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty. Son and successor of **Thutmose III**, with whom he appears to have ruled as coregent for two years. Literature generally, and unfairly, portrays him as a more bombastic, but less successful, ruler than his father. This reign saw the transition from war to diplomacy and **gift exchange** as the means of maintaining Egypt's pre-eminence in western Asia. The principal record of his military activities is the stela carved in the sanctuary of the temple of Amada in Nubia. At the beginning of his sole reign, year 3, Amenhotep led a campaign against Takhsy (in Syria). Seven princes were captured and slain in the temple of **Amun** at Karnak. The bodies of six of them were displayed on the walls of **Thebes** and the seventh taken to the far south of **Nubia**, where it was hung from the walls of **Napata** "as a warning to the Kushites." A second campaign in year 7 saw Amenhotep march his army across the Orontes, then south through Takhsy and Galilee. A further campaign in year 9 was directed against Qaqa, the chief of Qebaasumin, an otherwise unknown town near **Megiddo**. Qaqa was replaced with an Egyptian vassal.

The pharaoh's so-called "Dream Stela" was discovered in 1936 on the northeast side of the great **sphinx** at Giza. The inscription is a key text for the militaristic **ethos** of the 18th Dynasty, of which Amenhotep was the model. It tells how the pharaoh is superior to all of the army in running, rowing, archery, and, most importantly, in driving **chariots** and training **horses**. Throughout the text, the prince is likened to the god **Monthu**. The text reports an episode in which the prince shoots arrows from his fast-moving chariot at copper targets one palm thick so that the arrows go right through the targets and appear on the other side. The prince is also said to be praised by the Asiatic deities **Reshep** and **Astarte**, both associated with warfare and chariotry.

AMENHOTEP III (reigned c. 1390–1352 BC). Pharaoh of the later 18th Dynasty. Son of **Thutmose IV**. In a long reign of 38 years, there are very few recorded military campaigns: one certainly in year 5 in Nubia, and perhaps two others. Egypt maintained her pre-eminent position in western Asia through diplomacy, **diplomatic marriage**, and **gift exchange**, all of which is detailed in the **Amarna Letters**.

AMENHOTEP IV. *See* AKHENATEN.

AMENMESSES (reigned c. 1202–1199 BC). Pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty. During the reign of **Merenptah**, his son Sety was crown prince. At some point shortly after Merenptah's death, a **dynastic war** broke out between the legitimate heir **Sety II** and a usurper, Amenemesses, who may have been his own son. Amenemesses' monuments were most extensive in Upper Egypt, particularly **Thebes**. His **rebellion** and assumption of royal style appears to have had powerful support in Thebes and **Nubia**. Sety II appears to have retained control of the **Delta** and **Memphis**. The rebellion was suppressed and all of Amenemesses' statues and monuments were recarved for Sety II. There is still uncertainty as to whether the four years of Amenemesses' rebel kingship were concurrent with the years of Sety II, or preceded them.

‘AMR IBN-AL ‘ASÎ (c. 580–663 AD). Arab leader who entered Egypt with his army in the winter of 639 AD, via **Rhinocolura** (el Arish). He established himself at **Pelusion**, where he welcomed further Arab soldiers. In July 640 AD, he marched on the strategically significant fortress of **Babylon** (Old Cairo), defeating the army of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, at Heliopolis. The governor, Cyrus, sued for peace, but the emperor accused him of treason. Babylon was besieged, falling in April 641. Following the fall of Babylon, Amr marched on **Alexandria** and received the capitulation of the city after an 11-month siege. By 29 September 642 AD (21 Hijri), the last Byzantine forces had left Egypt to the Arab conquerors.

AMUN. Local god of **Thebes** whose importance increased from the 11th Dynasty onward. He was merged with the sun god **Re**, and from the 18th Dynasty became one of the state gods of Egypt with Re-Harakhty, Ptah, and the reigning pharaoh. Pharaohs are frequently depicted presenting captives, foreign countries, and their rulers to Amun, and receiving from him the **khepesh**-scimitar or other weapons of war. The Amada stele of **Amenhotep II** records that, following the capture of seven princes in his Syrian campaign, the pharaoh slew them in the temple of Amun at Karnak.

Although Amun himself was not specifically a war god, he charged the pharaoh with expanding his domain, advised him on tactics, and protected and guided him in battle. All of these roles can be found in the records of the battles of **Megiddo** and **Qadesh**. The “**Poetical Stela**” of **Thutmose III** is couched as a speech of Amun-Re, narrating the victories that the god has worked for the pharaoh. Pharaohs also presented booty from campaigns to the god's temple at Karnak, which began to function as a royal treasury. Captured towns were also given to Amun, which probably indicates an annual levy was sent. Following the Megiddo campaign of years 22–23, Thutmose III gave the Lebanese towns of Nuges, Yanoam, and Herenku to Amun. The attachment of certain temples, lands, and revenues in **Nubia** to

Amun's sanctuary at Thebes is also indicated.

AMURRU. Territory in western Asia, somewhere in the modern Lebanon–Syria, lying between the Orontes Valley (to the east) and the Mediterranean (west), Arvad (north), and Tripoli (south). Its boundaries are uncertain. It figures prominently in the **Amarna Letters**, when its ruler, Aziru, gained control of **Tunip**, on the eastern border, and Sumur on the coast.

AMYNTAS (fl. 333 BC). Amyntas son of Antiochos was a Macedonian noble. He was a close friend and associate of Prince Amyntas who had a rival claim to the throne on the death of Philip II and the accession of **Alexander the Great**. When Prince Amyntas was put to death, Amyntas son of Antiochos fled to the Persian Empire, where he became one of four Greek commanders who served with Greek mercenary troops in the army of Darius III. Following the Persian defeat at the battle of Issos (Nov. 333 BC), they fled from the scene with the 8,000 troops under their command to Tripoli on the coast of northern Phoenicia, where their fleet was based. The force now seems to have divided, with Amyntas commanding 4,000 soldiers sailing for **Cyprus**. He now seems to have seen the opportunity, with the Persian forces in disarray, to seize Egypt. Arriving in Egypt at **Pelusion**, Amyntas announced that he was the advance guard for **Darius**. As soon as he gained control of the garrison, he began his advance on **Memphis**, now proclaiming himself a liberator *from* the Persians. There was some local Egyptian support for the invader, and he achieved a victory over the Persians at Memphis, forcing their withdrawal into the city. Amyntas' army now began to plunder the countryside and became overconfident. The Persian satrap, Mazaces, launched an attack from Memphis, defeated the invaders, and put them to death.

AMYRTAIOS (1) (reigned c. 470–460 BC). Ruler of **Sau** in the western Delta who participated in the **rebellion** of **Inaros** against the Persian pharaoh, **Artaxerxes I**, between 463 and 461 BC. He sent aid to **Athens** in 450. He was grandfather of the pharaoh **Amyrtaios (2)**.

AMYRTAIOS (2) (reigned 404–399 BC). (Greek form of the Egyptian name Amenirdis.) Pharaoh of the 28th Dynasty. The period from circa 440–380 BC was one in which rival warlords were competing for power, the Persians retaining nominal control until the death of **Darius II**, in 405. Then, Amyrtaios of **Sau**, who had been leading a guerrilla war for several years, successfully established himself with pharaonic titles and achieved some independence from **Artaxerxes II** (405–359 BC). Amyrtaios appears to have been defeated and captured by the dynast of Mendes, Nefaarud, who had him executed at **Memphis**, himself assuming royal style.

ANATH. Goddess, who originated in western Asia, particularly associated

with Ugarit. She was sister of **Baal**. She is known in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom onward and her cult was favored by the **Hyksos**. By Ramesside times, she was a prominent goddess in the Delta, **Ramesses II** naming one of his daughters Bint-Anath (“Daughter of Anath”). Her violent aspect led her to be identified with the daughter of Re (**Tefnut**) and as a wife of **Seth** (himself equated with **Baal**). Anath is depicted wearing a tall crown, flanked with plumes, and carrying a shield, spear, and battle-axe. Anath protected the pharaoh in battle: a text of Ramesses III states that Anath and **Astarte** are his shield.

ANDROS. Naval battle of the Third **Syrian War** in 246 or 245 BC, in which the Egyptian Admiral Sophron was defeated by Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedon. As a result of the battle, Gonatas gained control of the Cyclades (Andros is the most northerly of the group), and the Ptolemies lost Delos and were no longer able to interfere in the politics of the Greek mainland. Although defeated at Andros, **Ptolemy III** made gains in the eastern Aegean.

ANIBA (MI‘AM). **Fortress** and administrative center in **Wawat** (Lower Nubia). Standing on the west bank of the river, Aniba had no particularly important strategic position, but occupied a central position in one of the three major regions of cultivation in Lower Nubia. Archaeological evidence indicates the existence of a Middle Kingdom fortress, probably constructed under **Senusret I**. The fortifications were renewed in the New Kingdom when Aniba became one of the principal centers of the viceregal administration. It retained its importance until the late 20th Dynasty. It was perhaps during the civil war at the close of the 20th Dynasty that the hill of **Qasr Ibrim**, directly opposite Aniba, was fortified.

ANKHWENNEFER. *See* CHAONNOPHRIS.

ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III. The name given to the record of the military campaigns of **Thutmose III** inscribed on the walls of the hall surrounding the central sanctuary of the temple of **Amun** at Karnak (**Thebes**). The annals are apparently derived from the **Day Books** kept during the campaigns and are rare among Egyptian “historical” texts in their apparent factuality and lack of rhetoric. References within the annals refer to other original documents, written on leather rolls and preserved within the temple of Amun. The annals give details of the numerous Asiatic campaigns of the pharaoh’s sole reign following the death of **Hatshepsut**, beginning with the first campaign of years 22–23, and the battle of **Megiddo**, and including most Asiatic actions to year 42. The opponents specified are the **Hittites**, **Naharin (Mitanni)**, the **Shasu**, and the prince of **Qadesh**. The texts place great emphasis upon the booty captured, including **armor**, **weapons**, **chariots**, and **horses**. There are also references to the **tribute** of **Assyria**,

Cyprus, and the taxes of **Wawat** and **Kush**. Other incidents of the expeditions were the building of a **fortress** in Lebanon and an **elephant** hunt in **Niy**. The details are useful for calculating the rate of the army's **march**. On the fifth campaign, aimed at Qadesh, the army sailed to and from Sumur. Some of the later entries in the original Day Books were possibly written by the chief army scribe, **Tjanuni**.

ANTIGONOS I MONOPHTHALMOS (c. 382–301 BC). Antigonos “the one-eyed” was a Macedonian nobleman who served Philip II and acted as governor of Phrygia at the time of **Alexander the Great's** expedition. Following Alexander's death at **Babylon** in 323 BC, he became a leading figure in the wars of the **diadochoi** (“Successors”), initially gaining control of a huge kingdom. While **Ptolemy I** was engaged in the campaign against **Cyrene**, Antigonos invaded and conquered Syria. In response, Ptolemy led his armies to Syria against Antigonos's son, Demetrios, who had been left in control. Ptolemy's fleet, under the command of his brother Menelaos, was defeated at **Cyprus**. Ptolemy I was part of the coalition that now formed to oppose the ambitions of Antigonos and Demetrios. Ptolemy aided the invasion of Babylon by Seleukos I in 311 BC, which led to full-scale war. Following the defeat of Ptolemy's forces at **Salamis** in Cyprus in 306 BC, Antigonos attempted an invasion of Egypt. In October/November 306 BC, he set out from Antigoneia to Egypt with an army of over 80,000 foot soldiers, about 8,000 horses, and 83 elephants, 150 warships, and 100 troop transports commanded by his son, Demetrios. The fleet was scattered by storm but reassembled and re-established contact with the land force near Mt. Kasios (probably Ras Baron), a short distance beyond **Pelusion**. Ptolemy repulsed the invasion at Pelusion. Antigonos was later defeated and killed at the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC.

ANTIOCHOS IV (c. 215–164 BC). **Seleukid** king of Syria from 175 BC. He attempted to incorporate Ptolemaic Egypt and **Cyprus** into his empire, invading Egypt with his army in 169 BC and 168 BC, in the reign of **Ptolemy VI**. He acted, and may have been crowned, as king, but the Romans intervened and forced Antiochos to leave. He did, however, capture **Jerusalem** from the Ptolemies, turning it into a Greek city. This led directly to a **rebellion** by the **Jews**, led by Judas Maccabeus (168/7–164 BC), after which the high priest Onias and a large following settled in Egypt.

ANTONIUS, MARCUS (83–30 BC) (Mark Antony). Roman politician and general. His first visit to Egypt was as a cavalry commander when Aulus Gabinius was in **Alexandria** to restore **Ptolemy XII Auletes** (57–54 BC). Antonius then served with, or on behalf of, his relative **Iulius Caesar** in Gaul, Italy, and Greece. He was Caesar's colleague as consul in 44 BC, and following his murder, one of the political heirs. He was made triumvir along with Octavian (see **Augustus**) and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, to

restore order to the Republic, and undertook the reorganization of the eastern part of the empire. Antonius met **Kleopatra VII** at Tarsos in 41 BC. Although his actions in western Asia and Asia Minor were in many ways pro-Egyptian (and certainly painted that way by Octavian), Antonius did not take territory away from Herod of Judaea as Kleopatra wished. His campaign against Parthia (36 BC) was a disaster. In 34 BC, he was more successful in Armenia, and this was followed by the “Donations of Alexandria” in which Kleopatra and her children were named as rulers of most of the east. This was followed by increasingly hostile propaganda in Rome and, in 32 BC, many of Antonius’s remaining supporters among the nobility, including the consuls, were intimidated and left Rome for the east. Octavian declared war on Kleopatra, and the arena of action moved to Greece. Antonius retained considerable support until just before the battle of **Aktion**. It was supposedly Kleopatra who alienated the remainder of his most influential supporters. Antonius and Kleopatra managed to flee the disastrous battle and return to Egypt. Antonius remained at **Paraitonion** to prevent any attack by the governor of **Cyrene** who had gone over to Octavian. He eventually joined Kleopatra in Alexandria, where he committed suicide on Octavian’s entry into the city (August 30 BC). Although with Octavian’s victory, there was considerable propaganda hostility to Antonius, the sources still portray him as a fine general, with great personal charm, although with serious faults. Octavian’s ultimate victory was not expected, and apparently not sought for by a large proportion of the Roman nobility, Antonius retaining supporters throughout the east, right up to the final battle at Aktion. Excepting the “Donations of Alexandria,” which never came into effect, his political settlements in the east were left in place by Octavian.

APEPY (reigned c. 1585–1550 BC). Hyksos king of **Avaris**. His reign saw open war with the rulers of **Thebes**, **Tao**, and **Kamose**. The records of Kamose’s reign reveal that the Hyksos had been allied with the kingdom of **Kush** based on **Kerma**, and that with the accession of a new ruler, Apepy proposed a joint Hyksos-Kushite attack on the Thebans. If successful, this would have divided the whole of Upper Egypt between the two powers. Apepy’s letter was intercepted by Kamose’s **desert** patrol, apparently instigating the Theban ruler’s wars. It is not known whether Apepy was still king when Avaris was stormed by **Ahmose I**.

APIRU. Term found in a number of textual sources, notably the **Amarna Letters**. Earlier scholarship (reading the word *Habiru*) identified them with the Hebrews, but they are now understood to be a social, not ethnic, group, apparently comprising a range of people who had opted out of society. They were associated with brigandage and posed a threat to the transit of trade and the settled communities. From the time of **Amenhotep III** they are found in **Amurru**, and further south in **Canaan**, especially the hill country.

As a response to the trouble they caused, **Akhenaten** deported some and installed a military governor in **Jerusalem**.

APRIES. *See* WAHIBRE.

ARABS. The term has been used rather loosely for nomadic people of the desert margin of the Near East from **Sinai** eastward into the **Negeb** and Arabia (the early archaeology of which is still inadequate). The Sinai region was home to the **Shasu** bedouin, who appear in many earlier texts. Arabs do not become more prominent until the end of the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Their encroachments on the settled areas of the Fertile Crescent were not as extensive as that of the **Aramaeans**, although increased in **Seleukid** and Roman times. **Israel** under Solomon expanded into the Negeb, but the Arabs first appear more prominently as tributaries to the expanding power of **Assyria** (ninth-eighth centuries BC). They controlled the direct routes, between southern Mesopotamia and the Levant, and the trade, principally incense, along the east coast of the Red Sea from Yemen.

The Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III (reigned 744–727 BC) defeated the Me'unites, an Arab tribe of northern Sinai, in his advance on **Gaza**. The aid of these tribes was sought by armies attacking Egypt along the desert route of north Sinai, the **Ways of Horus** or Via Maris, because of the difficulties of the route: they certainly assisted the army of **Esarhaddon**. The battle reliefs of **Ashurbanipal** (reigned 668–631? BC) depict wars with Arabs, probably in north Arabia, in which the Arabs deploy **archers** mounted on camels. Nabonidus king of **Babylon** (reigned 555–539 BC) established a base in the oasis of Teima, apparently in an attempt to secure the trade routes. Arabia, probably north Sinai, appears as a satrapy under the control of Persia.

There were “Arabs” in Egypt during the Late, Ptolemaic, and Roman periods. The name of the pharaoh **Hakor** certainly means “Arab” but there is no evidence that his family were of Arab origin. Similarly, the name **Khabbash** is supposed by some to be Arab (although Libyan and Nubian are also suggested). During the Hellenistic period, the Nabataean Arabs of Petra controlled the trade from South Arabia along the Red Sea. This lasted until Trajan absorbed Petra into the Roman Empire. There is good evidence for migration and strong cultural influence from southern Arabia into Ethiopia in the later first millennium BC. This had an important influence in the development of the city and kingdom of Aksum (which later came to rival **Meroe**). Otherwise, there is little evidence for southern Arabia's external affairs until the great and rapid expansion of the seventh century AD. The caliph Umar launched his armies against the Byzantine territories of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and against the Sasanid ones of Persia and Mesopotamia. The Arab armies under ‘**Amr Ibn-al ‘Asî** entered Egypt in

639 AD, captured the **fortress** of **Babylon** and with the fall of **Alexandria** the last Byzantine troops left Egypt (642 AD, 21 Hijri).

ARAMAEANS. People of **Syria** who came to prominence with the collapse of the empires of the Late Bronze Age as rulers of many of the smaller kingdoms that formed coalitions against the expanding power of **Assyria**. There were movements of Aramaeans into the margins of Mesopotamia extending from Assyria in the north southward into Babylonia. The main Aramaean kingdoms of the early Iron Age (1200–900 BC) were Damascus and Bit-Bahiani (modern Tell Halaf). The names of the states generally carry the prefix *Bit* “House of” indicating their supposed tribal origin, for example, Bit-adini, Bit Agusi. They are closely associated in their opposition to Assyria with the neo-**Hittites** and the **Arabs**.

ARCHERS. The earliest depictions of weapons and soldiers on the ceremonial palettes of the late Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods (such as the Hunter’s Palette) show archers. The earliest surviving fragments of a military scene of Old Kingdom date also show part of a contingent of archers. It dates from the reign of **Khufu** or **Khafre**. The **bow** remained the principal long-range weapon, and archers continued to form one major element of the army until the Ptolemaic period when the **phalanx** became more significant. The earliest type of bow, the self-bow, continued in use alongside the composite bow introduced from western Asia and was particularly associated with the contingents of **Nubian mercenaries**.

All soldiers in Egypt were foot soldiers until the introduction of the **chariot** at the beginning of the New Kingdom. The bow remained the principal weapon of the chariotry. New Kingdom battle reliefs show archers on foot and in chariots, which were used as moving fighting platforms. The mass burial of soldiers of the reign of **Menthuhotep II** reveals some of the types of wounds inflicted by archers during the **siege** of a town.

AREIKA. Site in Lower **Nubia**. The excavators suggested that it was the “castle” of a local Nubian ruler, but recent re-assessment of the material from the site by Josef Wegner proposes that it was a settlement of the local Nubian “C-Group,” which also had a **garrison** of troops with Egyptian commanders. The garrison at Areika was probably to control traffic along the Nile and people entering the valley from the **desert**.

ARMOR. Body armor and **helmets** are rarely shown being worn by Egyptian troops in battle scenes; they are usually seen wearing only the kilt. Armor is, however, depicted in some tomb scenes of the 18th Dynasty, notably that of Qenamun. Armor appears as part of the **tribute** to the pharaoh, or as the products of royal and temple workshops. It is also shown, along with weapons, being distributed in the battle scenes of **Ramesses III** at **Medinet**

Habu. The **Amarna Letters** refer to armor and also to **horse** armor and helmets for horses.

A cuirass was found in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. It consists of scales of leather sewn onto a sleeveless linen bodice. Bronze could also be used for the scales. The textual records tell us that **Ramesses II** put on his coat of mail before the battle of **Qadesh** and is shown wearing such a coat in some battle reliefs. An identical type is shown in the gifts presented to **Amenhotep II** in the tomb of Qenamun.

ARMS TRADE. There is good evidence for the international arms trade during the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age. In Egypt, there are scenes in private tombs and temples showing the presentation of “foreign **tribute**” to the pharaoh, which includes **weapons, chariots, and horses**. The **Amarna Letters** give much more detail about specific items and quantities and detail royal **gift exchange**. The archaeological evidence is more limited.

Both weapons and the knowledge of developments in military technology could be acquired through capture in battle and as booty, through “trade” and gift exchange, and from **mercenary** troops. The acquisition of chariots, horses, and other weaponry through booty and capture in battle must have been significant, particularly in the earlier part of the 18th Dynasty when chariots were a relatively new introduction. At the battle of **Megiddo**, **Thutmose III** captured 924 chariots (including two “of gold”) and 2,041 horses. In his campaigns, **Amenhotep II** captured 730 and 1,092 chariots. A record at **Qasr Ibrim**, also of the time of Amenhotep II, suggests that chariots had been captured in a military skirmish with Kushites.

Transferrable technologies. Although the Egyptians had to import horses from north Syria, they soon learned the arts of horse training and chariotry. They also soon began to manufacture their own chariots and presumably adapted it to conditions within Egypt. Scenes in a number of tombs show the manufacture of chariots, and some campaign scenes (relating to the battle of **Qadesh**) show repairs of chariots in the Egyptian camp. The timber used in chariot manufacture was imported from Syria and farther north. Also requiring imported materials was the composite bow (see **bow, composite**), and it has been suggested that all of these weapons were imported, rather than manufactured in Egypt. However, it is now clear that composite bows were made in Egypt and that materials such as birch bark could have been brought from long distances and still used.

Weapons trade. The “tribute” scenes and Amarna Letters detail the sending of chariots and horses to Egypt as part of the royal “gift exchange,” principally with **Mitanni**. A scene in the tomb of **Horemheb** at **Saqqara** (now in Leiden) shows **Hittites** bringing 12 horses (6 teams). The scene in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna shows horses being brought by two different groups of Asiatics, one probably Hittites. Both groups bring a

chariot (one six- and one four-spoked). The tribute scenes of the 18th Dynasty show a variety of weapons being brought from both Asia and Nubia. Fragments from the Theban tomb of Sebekhotep (reign of Thutmose III) show Nubians bringing **spears**. The scene in the tomb of Meryre II (reign of Akhenaten) shows composite bows, quivers, **khepesh**-swords, **helmets**, long spears, and shields as part of the Asiatic tribute, and bows and arrows and shields from Kush. The tribute scene from the tomb of the **viceroy** of Kush, Huy, who served under **Tutankhamun**, shows bows and arrows, shields covered in cowhide and cheetah-skin, gilded ceremonial shields, and a chariot, as part of the Kushite tribute. The weaponry is documented in more detail in the **Amarna Letters**. Of these, EA 22 is one of the most valuable for this subject. The letter contains part of an inventory of wedding gifts sent by Tushratta of Mitanni when **Amenhotep III** married his daughter. Of particular significance, it includes a number of iron objects including a dagger with an iron blade. Its guard and haft are described in detail and the whole has a striking parallel in the iron dagger from the tomb of Tutankhamun. There is also a mace of iron. Different types of **arrows** appear in large quantities as well as arrows “with thorns” and others to be shot flaming. There were 10 javelins with iron tips and 10 javelins with bronze tips; 10 maces; 10 “zallewe”-knives of bronze, and 10 spears.

Mercenaries. As well as being part of the arms trade itself, **mercenaries** were doubtless important in the dissemination of weapons and techniques of warfare. Egypt employed foreign mercenary troops, initially Nubians, from the earliest times. The rulers of western Asia particularly sought for Nubian troops in the Amarna Letters. There was an increase of mercenaries in the 19th Dynasty and some, such as the **Shardana**, with their peculiar helmets and weapons, are to be found both in the Egyptian army and fighting alongside the Libyans as enemies of Egypt. The Libyans themselves benefited from the arms trade as they are shown with chariots and horses and with weapons of distinctly western Asiatic types. The Libyans themselves employed mercenary troops, such as the Shardana, as is clear from the accounts of the Libyan Wars of **Merenptah** and **Ramesses III**. The evidence from centers, such as Pylos, Mycenae, and Knossos, shows that Greece and Aegean were part of the same networks. Western Anatolia and Cyprus probably provided the main link between Egypt, Crete, and Greece, although there is evidence of direct contacts in the reign of Amenhotep III. **Nubia**, too, must have benefited from the international arms trade. Although battle scenes show Nubian enemies conventionally as bowmen with relatively little equipment, there is evidence of the use of chariots by the elite, and the “tribute” scenes show weaponry and **armor** that was manufactured in Nubia. Chariots and horses were presumably given as gifts from Egypt, but the inclusion of chariots as part of the Kushite tribute to Egypt suggests that they, too, were eventually being

manufactured in Nubia itself.

The Iron Age saw a change in the trade routes, but there is ample evidence from the Assyrian, and other, records for a similar arms trade. Israel under Solomon (reigned ca. 950–930/922 BC) seems, for a period, to have controlled the trade in horses throughout north Syria. The Assyrians imported horses from many surrounding regions. There is also good evidence that horse breeding developed in Kush. The Dongola Reach of the Nile was a horse-breeding area in medieval times and probably ancient times as well. The evidence that suggests that the Kushites were breeding horses comes from Assyrian texts of the eighth–seventh centuries BC and the inscription of **Piye**.

ARMY. The evidence for the Egyptian army comes from a variety of sources in **art** and **literature**, although none gives the detail that we have for, for example, the Hellenistic or Roman armies. A large number of terms are preserved in documents relating to the military **bureaucracy**, but few texts detail the numbers and functions involved. Function can generally be determined from context and lexicography, and some words, particularly those associated with **chariots** and **horses**, such as **mariyannu**, are foreign loan words.

The army fulfilled many functions in addition to its main one of fighting in battles and protecting frontiers. Bodies of troops were sent to escort trading expeditions (such as those to Punt) and diplomatic exchanges. The army played a significant role in building and quarrying, being used to guard and to convey stone. It also had an important role in royal and religious ceremonies. The scenes depicting the great religious festivals, such as Opet, show the army towing the river barges of the gods from the bank, accompanied by military **musicians**, notably trumpeters and Nubian drummers.

Old Kingdom. Conflict between groups of armed men is shown on monuments of the Predynastic Period, such as the **Battlefield Palette**. Nothing is known of the organization of these forces. During the Old Kingdom troops for campaigns were levied as necessary, although there must have been some more permanent military units, such as the royal **bodyguard** and **garrisons** stationed in key centers. The earliest depiction of the army in action shows a group of **archers** and is of the reign of **Khufu** or **Khafre**. The inscription of Weni indicates that local officials were responsible for conscription of troops as required, and also commanding them. The only unit mentioned is the *Tjeset* “battalion.” A number of officials carry the title *imy-r mesha*, Overseer of the soldiers/army or “General,” but they are nearly all recorded in texts relating to quarrying expeditions (three to **Sinai**, three to the Wadi Hammamat). At least two kings’ sons—Rahotep, the son of **Sneferu** (fourth Dynasty), and Kaemtjenenet, son of Isesi (fifth Dynasty)—were generals.

Middle Kingdom. During the First Intermediate Period the local *nomarchs* (governors of the administrative districts called *nomes*) raised forces and there is evidence for mercenary troops, mainly Nubians. There was certainly a standing army during the Middle Kingdom. The extensive campaigning in **Nubia**, and the establishment of the **fortresses** there with permanent garrisons, must have seen an increase in professional soldiers. The increase in terms employed also indicates an expansion of numbers and diversity of functions. An inscription of year 25 of **Amenemhat III** records that the army scribe traveled to the nome of Abydos to choose recruits (*neferu*). Another text states that a crown prince made a levy of one man in every hundred, in a limited area of the country.

New Kingdom. In the New Kingdom, there was an increased professionalization in all areas. The extent of the Egyptian Empire, with permanent garrisons, and the annual campaigning of pharaohs, such as **Thutmose III**, must have required a large standing army. By the reign of **Ramesses II**, there were four divisions of 5,000 plus men, mixed conscripts, and professionals. There is also some evidence for a form of national service. Changes in military technology meant that the New Kingdom army was divided between infantry (*menfat* or *menfyf*) and **chariotry**.

The army was commanded by the Pharaoh, with the Vizier and the army council. When in the field, there was a council of war. The role of the council in advising the pharaoh on tactics is detailed in the accounts of the battles of **Megiddo** and **Qadesh** and in the campaign of **Piye**, although the pharaoh usually chooses to adopt a different (and successful) course of action. An inscription of **Horemheb** indicates a division of the army into two corps, one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt, each under the command of the *idnu* of the army, who were responsible to a general. The early Ramesside army (**Sety I**) had regiments (*sa*) of 200 each with its standard bearer. These regiments were subdivided into platoons of 50 infantry under a “chief of 50” and squads of 10. By the reign of **Ramesses IV**, the principal unit was a company of five platoons, 250 men under the *waretu* of the army. Two companies formed a host (500+ men) and 20 companies one division (5000+). The army itself comprised three divisions named after the state gods of Egypt, **Amun**, Ptah, and **Re**. At times, there was a fourth division, named for **Seth**.

The army of the New Kingdom included large numbers of **mercenaries**. There were many Nubians, although these might also have been conscripted in the parts of Nubia directly administered by Egypt. In the Ramesside period, there were increasing numbers of troops from western Asia, Anatolia, and farther afield, such as the **Shekelesh**, **Shardana**, and **Peleset**. These usually have distinctive costumes and weapons. The **Libyans** also came to play a significant role.

The Egyptian expansion into Nubia and Asia led to the creation of some

new military offices, particularly in relation to the command of fortresses and **garrisons**. In Nubia, the army was specifically under the command of the chief of bowmen of Kush, and not the **viceroys**, although the earliest viceroys were military officials.

As the art of chariotry became one of the distinguishing skills of the elite, so the royal princes and pharaohs were characterized as warriors in a way not previously found. This is particularly notable with **Amenhotep II**, whose inscriptions epitomize this new military **ethos**. The battle reliefs of Ramesses II show the pharaoh's sons playing a significant role in the army. Monuments, inscriptions, and tombs document numerous military personnel of the New Kingdom (e.g., **Ahmose son of Ebana**, **Ahmose-pen-Nekhet**, **Amenemhab**, **Horemheb**, and **Tjanuni**).

Third Intermediate Period. There is much less evidence from the Third Intermediate Period. The breakdown of Egypt and Nubia into a number of kingdoms and principalities would once again have seen smaller armies with local loyalties (or mercenaries), and under the command of the dynasts. The documentary evidence is rather limited, and although officials with military titles are known, actual conflict is detailed only in a limited number of texts, such as the inscriptions of the crown prince **Osorkon**. The most informative text is undoubtedly the inscription of **Piye** narrating the conflict with **Tefnakht** and the Libyan dynasts and the use of the fleet and siege equipment.

Late Period. The evidence is again limited. There are inscriptions of army and naval commanders, such as **Wedjahorresne**, but they give little detail of military action or organization. Herodotos claims that Egyptian society was organized in a system of castes, the most important of which were the priests and the military (**machimoi**).

From the reign of **Psamtik I** on, there were large numbers of mercenary troops in the Egyptian army, many coming from Asia Minor, notably Caria and the Greek towns of the western coast (Ionia). There is detailed evidence of the Persian garrison at Elephantine (**Abu**) with its large contingent of **Jews** and other Phoenicians and Syrians. The pharaohs who led Egypt's final bid for independence from Persia employed whole forces of Greek mercenary troops and received considerable support from the city-states, such as **Athens**, and the rulers of the Aegean Islands, notably **Cyprus**.

Ptolemaic Period. The army of **Ptolemy I** was recruited from Greek and Macedonian soldiers who had served with him under **Alexander the Great**. Following the failed invasion of Egypt by Perdikkas (321 BC), many of the Macedonian troops stayed and enlisted in Ptolemy's army. In a similar way, he gained many deserters following the attempted invasion of **Antigonos Monophthalmos** (306 BC). These troops were settled as **cleruchs**, notably in the **Fayum** region. This early Ptolemaic army was essentially Greek with some mercenary troops such as **Gauls** and Thracians. In organization, it

was modeled on the Macedonian army in which the **phalanx** was the main heavy infantry fighting body, with light infantry (**peltasts**), **cavalry**, and the addition (copying the **Seleukids**) of **elephants**. The 20 years of peace at the end of the reign of **Ptolemy III** meant that the army lacked training and experience. According to Polybios, Egypt was no longer able to defend herself. **Ptolemy IV** therefore recruited Egyptians (*machimoi*) into the army. The victory of this new force at **Raphia** (217 BC) actually prompted **civil war**.

The later Ptolemaic army was increasingly influenced by Roman organization. It employed Egyptians as well as Greek settlers and mercenaries, notably **Jews**. The new structure was based upon the *sêmeia* (perhaps derived from the Egyptian demotic word *seten*) with probably six per regiment; each *sêmeia* was divided into two centuries commanded by hekatontarchoi and two pentekontarchia with a herald/trumpeter and standard-bearer (*semeiophoros*). The cavalry was divided into *hipparchies* of at least two squadrons (*ilai*), each *ilê* being at least 250. Ten hipparchies are attested.

Roman Period. The fall of Egypt to **Augustus** (30 BC) and the installation of the prefect saw the introduction of the Roman army into Egypt. Augustus himself reorganized the Roman army into a professional standing army of 25 legions. Each legion, totaling 6,000 men, was subdivided into 10 cohorts (600) of six centuries. The number of legions increased in the later empire, rising to 33 under the Severan dynasty (193–235 AD) and to 67 under **Diocletian** (reigned 284–305 AD). Many auxiliary troops were recruited from groups throughout the empire, included cavalry divisions (*alae*) of about 480–500 men divided into 16 troops.

Augustus stationed three legions in Egypt, but Legio XII *Fulminata* was transferred to Syria later in his reign. Legio XXII, *Deiotariana*, was named after Deiotarus, king of Galatia, who had formed it on the Roman model. It was incorporated into the Roman army by Augustus and stationed at Nikopolis (on the edge of **Alexandria**). It might have been destroyed in the Jewish **rebellion** of Bar Kokhba (132–135 AD). Legio III *Cyrenaica* was also stationed at Nikopolis by Augustus, where it remained until Trajan (reigned 98–117 AD) transferred it to Arabia, replacing it with the newly formed Legio II *Traiana Fortis*. The **Notitia Dignitatum** details the garrisons of the later third century. *See also* SOLDIER.

ARROWS. The shafts of arrows were generally made of reed, a readily available material. Some from the tomb of **Tutankhamun** were of wood. They were fletched with feathers, had nocks (to receive the bowstring) of wood, and were tipped with flint, obsidian, ebony, ivory, bone, hardwood, glass, and metal (copper, bronze, and iron). Surviving examples of arrows from the tomb of Maiherpri (all reed) were between 0.64 and 0.85 meters long (many damaged) and from the tomb of Tutankhamun up to 0.95 meter.

The majority of arrows would have been manufactured in Egypt from locally available materials. A relief from an unidentified tomb at **Saqqara** shows an arrow maker checking the straightness of arrows. After battle, the arrows and arrowheads would have been collected. Amenhotep II records the capture of two **bows** (presumably composite) and a quiver full of arrows after a battle near the River Orontes on his Syrian campaign. Other sources show that arrows formed part of the **arms trade**. The **Amarna Letters** detail varieties of arrows sent from **Mitanni**. The different types of arrows were grouped as: 1,000 arrows, sharp, 2,000 arrows, and 3,000 arrows. In addition, there were specified types of 20 arrows “with thorns,” 20 arrows to be shot flaming and 20 arrows of “shukudu” type. The bodies of the soldiers of **Menthuhotep II** buried at Deir el-Bahari showed arrow wounds, and some fragments of ebony arrowheads were found.

ART. Images of war and violence in Egyptian art are common, but many of them are ideological rather than historical. The most common type shows the pharaoh (occasionally a **queen**) smiting an individual enemy, or group of enemies, usually in the presence of one or more deities, such as **Amun** or **Re-(Harakhty)**. This image is found from the earliest periods (e.g., on the **Narmer Palette**) to the Roman period (in the temples of Esna and Dendera). It is a favored scene on the pylon gateways of temples, although can be found elsewhere. On the pylons, usually on a vast scale, the scene has the added significance of preserving the temple from the chaos of the real world and real time, since the temple is the image of the cosmos and of the moment of creation when perfection was achieved. The enemies are therefore symbols of universal threats to order and have no specific historical significance. In other contexts the subjugated groups can be given historical significance. If the image is of the subjugation of **Nubians**, **Libyans**, or Asiatics it may be due to the orientation of the scene: Nubians frequently being found on the south and others on the north of the temple axis. The location and purpose of the temple (i.e., in Nubia) might also be significant. However, the great relief of **Sheshonq I** at Karnak recording the Asiatic conquests of the pharaoh includes Nubians among the enemies he smites.

This type of image of the pharaoh as universal conqueror is taken a stage further with the image of the king as a human or hawk-headed **sphinx**. For a short period in the late 18th Dynasty, queens Tiye and Nefertiti, wives of **Amenhotep III** and **Akhenaten** respectively, were shown smiting and trampling in the form of a sphinx. They are specifically shown subduing the *female* enemies of Egypt as counterpart to the pharaoh and as a manifestation of the bellicose goddess **Tefnut**.

It was not only the foreign lands that were subjugated by the pharaoh, the **rekhyt**-people of Egypt itself were also. The pharaoh can be shown carrying a lapwing, the symbol (derived from the hieroglyphic writing) of the **rekhyt**,

who were equally a threat to order. The pharaoh also trampled his enemies, collectively known as the **Nine Bows**, underfoot. This image is found in statue form, and bound captives, or bows, were depicted on the soles of the royal sandals, on the pharaoh's footstool and dais, and painted on the floor of the throne room.

The temples were places in which **battle scenes** could be carved. They usually appear in the outer parts of the building on the pylons, the walls of the courts and outer halls, all of which were public areas, rather than in the inner halls and sanctuaries that were devoted to religious and offering scenes. Although the image of a smiting and conquering pharaoh is common, the surviving scenes that can actually be described, even loosely as "historical," are very limited in number (see **battle, representations of**). The majority, in fact, is of the battle of **Qadesh**. Although the temples of gods do carry historical battle scenes, the temples of the pharaohs themselves (usually styled "mortuary temples") were the most appropriate setting, and allowed the events of a reign to be presented as a royal self-justification. The best-preserved cycles of reliefs are in the temples of **Ramesses II** ("the Ramesseum") and **Ramesses III (Medinet Habu)** at **Thebes**.

Tomb scenes very rarely show battles, although those of Kaemheset at **Saqqara** and Inti at **Deshasheh**, of the late Old Kingdom, and tombs at Beni Hasan do show attacks on **fortifications**, and hand-to-hand combat. In the New Kingdom, tomb scenes can be informative for the study of war in that they show weaponry and **chariots** and the military **bureaucracy** at work. Some of the most valuable scenes are those from the tombs of military officials, such as **Horemheb** and **Tjanuni**, which show the registering of recruits and other aspects of army life. Another important group of scenes are those that show **gift exchange** and **reward**. At Amarna, the tombs of the reign of Akhenaten contain many reward scenes, mostly showing gold and jewelry but also the gift of a pair of leather gauntlets to the chariotry officer, Ay. A similar pair is described in the **Amarna Letters** as a royal gift from the king of **Mitanni**, and a pair was discovered in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. There are scenes in Theban tombs showing the presentation of "gifts" to the pharaoh. This took place at the New Year, the coronation, and other significant occasions. What is actually shown is the product of the royal and temple workshops. The tomb of Qenamun, particularly, depicts collections of weapons and **armor**, with the number of the amounts produced. These are some of the best representations. Indeed, in the case of armor, corselets and **helmets** are very rarely shown being worn. The presentation of foreign **tribute** includes weaponry and is a valuable source of information on the international **arms trade**.

ARTAXERXES I (reigned 465–424/423 BC). Great King of Persia and ruler of Egypt. The accession of Artaxerxes, in a palace coup, saw **rebellion**

throughout the empire. In Egypt, **Inaros**, a ruler in the western Delta, and **Amyrtaios (I)**, prince of **Sau**, were aided by a fleet from **Athens**. In the rebellion, **Memphis** was captured, and the **satrap** (the Persian viceroy) was killed in battle at **Papremis**, before the Egyptians and Athenians were besieged at **Prosopitis** in the Delta. The rebellion altogether lasted from about 462 BC until 454 BC.

ARTAXERXES II (reigned 405–359 BC). Great king of Persia and pharaoh of Egypt. On the death of **Darius II** (404 BC), Egypt had gained independence from Persia. In 373 BC, in an attempt to regain control of Egypt, Artaxerxes sent his army, led by Pharnabazos and the commander of the Greek mercenaries Iphikrates from Acre. They failed to enter via **Pelusion**, but breached the Mendesian barrier. There was disagreement between the two commanders, which allowed **Nakhtnebef** to surround and besiege them, until the inundation forced a Persian retreat.

ARTAXERXES III (reigned 359–338 BC). Great King of Persia and pharaoh of Egypt. Artaxerxes regained control of Sidon and **Cyprus** before turning his attention to Egypt, which had been independent of Persia for 60 years. The first invasion, in 351/350 BC, was driven back by the army of Nakhthorheb, but in 343 BC a second invasion was successful. Artaxerxes now had the advantage of two capable commanders, Bagoas and Mentor of Rhodes, and a large force of Greek **mercenaries**. The Persian army advanced to **Pelusion**, which was captured by Bagoas. Further Delta cities fell as the Persians advanced on **Memphis**. The pharaoh Nakhthorheb seems to have offered little resistance and reputedly fled to **Nubia**. Egypt once again came under Persian rule and a **satrap** was installed. Later texts, notably the Satrap stele of **Ptolemy I** (citing a decree of **Khabbash**), refer to devastation caused by the Persian invasion.

ARZAWA. Country in western Anatolia, neighbor to the **Hittite** empire. As the evidence for its position comes from Hittite texts, it is difficult to place Arzawa precisely, although it is thought to be very approximately where Lydia was in later times.

ASHURBANIPAL (reigned 668–631? BC). Late Assyrian emperor of the Sargonid dynasty. Shortly after his accession, Ashurbanipal made preparations for the invasion of Egypt. These included seeking the advice of the gods through **omens**. The events of the campaign are recorded on a clay prism known as the “Rassam Cylinder.” The army advanced rapidly toward Egypt, receiving the submission of the Levantine rulers who now accompanied him. The army engaged and defeated the joint Egyptian and Kushite forces of **Taharqo** at “Kar-baniti,” which is the Assyrian name for an Egyptian place, probably on the route from **Pelusion** toward **Memphis**. Taharqo himself was in Memphis. The text refers to another **oracle** given

by the gods that Ashurbanipal had taken with him. A battle took place, presumably close to Memphis, which fell. Taharqo fled to **Thebes** and the Assyrians pursued, but the dynasts of the Delta rebelled. In response, the Assyrian armies attacked **Sau**, Tanis, and another Delta town, flaying rebels and hanging their skins from the walls. The princes were taken to Assyria, where some were executed. Only **Nekau I** and his son, the future **Psamtik I**, were spared. There might have been **deportation** of some of the rebel population and people from elsewhere in the Assyrian empire settled in Egypt.

Taharqo died during, or shortly after the invasion, and was succeeded by **Tanwetamani**, who immediately reoccupied Memphis and brought the Delta dynasts under his authority. Ashurbanipal now launched a second campaign (663 BC). Tanwetamani fled to Thebes and from there back to **Nubia**. Ashurbanipal's army marched on Thebes and sacked it, carrying off its treasures to Assyria. Although Psamtik I was originally an Assyrian vassal, he gradually shook off control. Ashurbanipal, preoccupied with events on the other borders of his empire did not attempt to intervene again in Egypt.

Ashurbanipal's military campaigns are recorded in annals and a series of reliefs from the palace at Nineveh. Some reliefs depicted the events in Egypt, but they have no accompanying texts. Of particular interest is the war against the **Arabs**, which shows Arab **archers** mounted on **camels**. A large series of oracle and omen texts supplements the annalistic material.

ASKUT. Island **fortress** in the Second **Cataract** to the north of, and within signaling distance of, **Shalfak**. It was part of the 12th Dynasty chain of forts inaugurated by **Senusret I** and completed by **Senusret III**. The plan was dictated by the topography of the site, resulting in a triangular fort with a regular town plan accommodating up to 200 men. Askut is unusual among the fortresses in that 22 percent of its total area is given over to granary buildings. It has been suggested that it served as a fortified grain store to supply the other fortresses of the cataract. It is estimated that, if full, the granaries had a potential capability of feeding up to 3,264–5,628 individuals for one year, more than any other fort in the region, even the great depot at **Mirgissa**. From Askut, signals were relayed northward via Murshid and Gemai to Mirgissa.

ASSYRIA. Kingdom of northern Mesopotamia (modern Iraq), with its capitals at Assur, Nimrud, and Nineveh. Assyria enjoyed several phases of political and military expansion. The first major contacts between Assyria and Egypt are documented by the **Amarna Letters** and indicate the emergence of the Middle Assyrian Empire as a significant political force. By the reign of **Ramesses II**, Assyria under Shalmaneser I was able to dispose of the final fragment of the kingdom of **Mitanni**, bringing its

western borders directly up to those of the great king of the **Hittites**, **Hattusili III**. Direct military involvement with Egypt came in the Late (or Neo-) Assyrian Empire which, from the ninth century BC, gradually expanded throughout western Asia to Egypt itself.

Assyria's westward expansion began in the ninth century BC with Ashurnasirpal II (reigned 883–859 BC), Shalmaneser III (reigned 858–824 BC), and Tiglath-pileser III (reigned 744–727 BC). This has been attributed to developments in military technology, notably the increase in iron weapons, but could result as much from the organization and discipline of the Assyrian army (the achievement of Tiglath-pileser III). Undoubtedly, there were military developments during the Late Assyrian Empire, notably the increased use of **cavalry** over **chariots**.

Initially, Assyrian expansion established a sphere of influence throughout western Asia from Aleppo to Damascus and the Levantine coast, but with constant **rebellion**, this tributary area eventually became an empire with Assyrian governors. Egypt aided some of these rebellions, sending contingents of troops to the battle of **Qarqar** (853 BC). Assyrian activities brought her armies ever closer to the borders of Egypt. Although there is no evidence of direct conflict at this time, **Gaza**, which was usually an Egyptian vassal, was taken, and the frontier between the two states was established at the **Brook-of-Egypt** (el Arish).

With the fall of Egypt to the Kushite pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty, a more anti-Assyrian foreign policy emerged, with the Kushites acting as protectors of the states of western Asia. This was partly out of self-interest, although the Kushites might have harbored ambitions of their own. The first diplomatic contacts are recorded in the reign of **Sargon II**, relating to the flight of Iamani, ruler of Ashdod, to seek the protection of the Kushite king. The first direct conflict known came in the reign of **Shabako**, who sent his armies to the aid of Hezekiah of **Judah**. The Egyptian-Kushite forces clashed with the army of **Sennacherib** at the battle of **Eltekeh** (701 BC). This led, in the reigns of **Esarhaddon** (reigned 680–669 BC) and **Ashurbanipal** (reigned 668–631? BC), to the Assyrian invasion of Egypt itself. The Kushite pharaoh **Taharqo** (reigned 690–664 BC) had to confront Assyrian invasions by Esarhaddon. Battles were fought at **Ishkhupri**, and outside **Memphis**, which was sacked. Taharqo's successor, **Tanwetamani** (reigned 664–656 BC), had to face another invasion by Ashurbanipal, and this time the Assyrians reached **Thebes**. The Assyrians had some support in Egypt from the Libyan dynasts, acting out of self-interest, most notably the rulers of **Sau** (Sais), **Nekau I**, and **Psamtik I** (reigned 664–610 BC). However, once Psamtik I had regained control of the whole of Egypt, he was able to throw off the Assyrian yoke, aided by problems on the other frontiers of the Assyrian Empire. Assyria itself fell to the expanding empire of **Babylon** under Nabopolassar and **Nebuchadnezzar II**.

ASTARTE. Goddess of Canaanite and Syrian origin, the western Asiatic equivalent of the Mesopotamian Ishtar, Astarte was introduced into Egypt in the 18th Dynasty. Astarte was a warrior goddess who had a close association with **horses** and **chariots**. In the description of his military abilities as a youth, **Amenhotep II** tells how he was given the best horses from his father's stables and that because of his skill with them "Reshep and Astarte rejoiced over him." Like other Asiatic goddesses, Astarte became associated with the ferocious Egyptian deities given the title "daughter of Re" (**Sakhmet** and **Tefnut**) and became a wife of **Seth**.

ASWAN. Town on the southern frontier of Egypt and **Nubia**, at the foot of the First **Cataract**. Aswan (Greek *Syene* from Egyptian *Sunet* "a market") stands on the east bank of the Nile opposite the island of **Abu** (Elephantine). It was the site of a **fortress**, referred to in Aramaic documents of the Persian period as *Sun Byrta*.

Even after the expansion into Nubia, Aswan retained the characteristics of a frontier town and served as a supply and administrative depot and the place from which military actions into Nubia were launched. There were major defensive works in the Aswan region, with references to the fortress of Aswan, the fortress of Abu (Elephantine) and the fortress of **Senmut**. This last is usually assumed to be the island of Bigga, at the head of the cataract and opposite the presumed location of the harbor. However, it has recently been suggested that, rather than being isolated on the island of Bigga, the fortress of Senmut was actually the whole of the area between Aswan town and the head of the cataract defended by a massive mud-brick **wall**, fragments of which are still extant.

The wall, some 7.5 kilometers long, was built on elevated ground of mud brick, reinforced with reed mats and granite rubble. With a thickness of 10 cubits (5.25 meters) at the base, its height would have been up to twice that. A glacis of 35 degrees defended its outer face. There is no evidence for towers along its length, but its scale might have served as an adequate defense. The stela of the official Hepu, dated to the coregency of **Amenemhat II** and **Senusret II** and recording the inspection of forts of **Wawat** in year 35, is carved on a boulder crossed by the wall. This, and the size of the bricks, would suggest a construction date of the time of Senusret II. A similar wall ran for 5 kilometers between the fortresses of **Semna** to **Uronarti** at the Second Cataract. It is to be assumed that the wall connected with a fortress at both the Aswan and harbor ends. Between Aswan and the harbor was a military road, along which are rock inscriptions recording military campaigns by **Sety I**.

Along the same route as the wall (which had doubtless fallen into ruin long before), there is evidence for three Roman **watchtowers** at Gebel Boas, Tell Asmar, and on the plain of Shellal. These probably relate to a whole network of such towers throughout Upper Egypt: others are known

at Dendur and north of Edfu. The fort of **Diocletian**, Legio I Maximiana Filas, was presumably located in a similar position to the pharaonic harbor, opposite the island of Bigga. On the outskirts of the modern town are the remains of the Byzantine town walls, which include blocks from dismantled Roman temples.

On the west bank of the river, the rock-cut tombs of the elite include those of the governors of the **border** in the Old Kingdom, including that of Harkhuf, who led several peaceful expeditions to Yam in the Sixth Dynasty. A high point marked by Gebel Tingar, the “Rock of Offerings,” is where the **desert** road began. This regained the Nile near Toshka in Lower Nubia and was frequently used during the Old Kingdom. The Monastery of St. Simeon stands at the end of a wadi opposite the southern tip of the island of Abu. Like most monasteries, it is defended by high walls and might have been adapted from a Roman guard station.

Throughout the Aswan region are numerous rock inscriptions, many of which record military expeditions or individual officials associated with the administration of Nubia. The mountain of granite boulders at the southern end of the island of Sehel has a particularly large number of such votive inscriptions, many left by officials on their way into Nubia. The rock of Konosso has some important inscriptions relating to campaigns. There are inscriptions relating to the campaign of **Psamtik II** on the southern end of Bigga Island and on Abu itself.

ATHENS. City of mainland Greece, with surrounding state of Attika. In the sixth–fourth centuries BC, it was one of the main political and military powers of the Greek world. Athens became a center of opposition to the empire of Persia. As such, it both aided anti-Persian **rebellions** and received support from independent or rebellious states. Athens lent considerable support to the major, if ultimately disastrous, rebellion of **Inaros**. This military support from Athens was reciprocated by local rulers of the Delta who sent corn to Athens in times of famine. The Athenian general Chabrias was hired by the pharaoh **Hakor**, but he was recalled to Athens on the intervention of the Persians. The last military contact was the Ptolemaic involvement in Athens during the **Chremonidean War** (268/265–262/261 BC). *See also* SPARTA.

AUGUSTUS (63 BC–14 AD). Roman politician, general, and first emperor. Born Caius Octavius, he was the great nephew of **Iulius Caesar** and one of his closest male relatives. Caesar adopted him as his heir (when he became Caius Iulius Octavianus, “Octavian”). In the power struggles following Caesar’s murder in 44 BC, Octavian allied himself with Marcus **Antonius** and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus forming the Triumvirate. During the following years, Octavian was able to establish himself, and promote himself as the defender of Italy, while Antonius was involved in the eastern

Roman provinces and increasingly with **Kleopatra VII** in **Alexandria**. The alienation of Octavian and Antonius led ultimately to civil war, culminating in the defeat of the fleet of Antonius at **Aktion** in 31 BC. Octavian pursued Antonius to Alexandria, which he captured. Following the death of Kleopatra, Egypt was absorbed into the Roman Empire, but there were further military actions by the newly appointed **prefect** to impose full control. In 29 BC, **Cornelius Gallus** suppressed a **rebellion** of the Thebaid and took his army into Lower **Nubia** leading to the installation of a *tyrannos* in the **Dodekaschoinos**. Octavian himself was now unassailable politically, supported by the captured wealth of Egypt. In 27 BC, he formally “restored the republic” reinstating the Roman magistrates, senate, and constitution, in return for which he was given the title “Augustus” (*Sebastos* in the Greek-speaking east). There were further problems on the southern frontier, leading to a second campaign into Nubia, led by the prefect Caius **Petronius**. This was claimed to have reached **Napata**, although the towns named are predominantly in Lower Nubia, such as **Qasr Ibrim**.

AURELIAN (reigned 270–275 AD). Roman emperor. Lucius Domitius Aurelianus rose to high military rank, becoming chief commander of the cavalry. He was proclaimed emperor by his troops shortly after the death of Claudius II as rival to Quintillus. The disputed succession, and the invasions of the empire on the Danubian front, enabled the already powerful kingdom of Palmyra under **Zenobia** to take Egypt and parts of Asia Minor. In 272 AD, Aurelian was able to lead his armies to the east, defeating Zenobia’s forces at Antioch and Emesa and driving them back to Palmyra, which was besieged. Palmyra and Zenobia were captured, but Aurelian returned the next year to suppress **rebellion** in Palmyra and associated turmoil in Egypt, where the Palmyrene soldiers had joined forces with the **Blemmyes**. There was a siege of the foreign troops within **Alexandria**, which was captured, and its walls were destroyed. The rebellion of **Firmus** in Alexandria reputedly occurred in this reign.

AVARIS. The Greek form of the ancient Egyptian name, Hut-waret. Avaris was the capital city of the **Hyksos** in the eastern **Delta**, the modern site of Tell ed-Dab’a. It was attacked and eventually captured by the Theban princes who reunited Egypt in the late 17th and beginning of the 18th Dynasties. Although the wars with the Hyksos began in the reign of **Tao**, the first documented attack on Avaris was in the reign of **Kamose**. This did not capture or destroy the city, and the lapse of time before his successor, **Ahmose I**, began his wars must have enabled the Hyksos to recoup and redefend the city. The Theban assaults on Avaris are narrated in the autobiographical text of **Ahmose son of Ebana**. They involved the **navy**, and the city might have been protected by canals as well as the Nile branch.

AXES. From the earliest times, one of the commonest weapons of war, used for hand-to-hand combat. Originally, the war axe was hardly distinct from that used in woodworking. During the Old Kingdom, it had a semicircular head with lugs, perforated for attachment to the wooden haft. In the Middle Kingdom, a similar type continued, but it was larger with three lugs or “tangs” to attach it to the haft. Another type had a longer, rather than semicircular, blade. In the New Kingdom, the long, more rectangular, blade was favored. A type of halberd is also attested. This was an elongated tanged blade attached to a long shaft. Ceremonial axes with openwork designs are also known. The earliest blades were of flint; later copper and bronze were used. Hand-to-hand combat with axes is depicted in the Old Kingdom tombs of Kaemheset at Saqqara and Inti at **Deshasheh**. Numerous examples of axes survive. They are also frequently depicted in scenes of the army, such as the contingents of troops depicted in the temple of **Hatshepsut** at Deir el-Bahari (**Thebes**). In the tomb of Qenamun at Thebes, statues of Amenhotep II are shown—in which the pharaoh wears the short kilt and cut leather apron—carrying an axe.

BAAL. Asiatic god of thunder. Baal was worshipped in Egypt from the 18th Dynasty onward. As a thunder god, he was associated with **Seth**. In accounts of **battle**, the pharaohs of the later New Kingdom could be identified with the god. **Sety I** was “like Baal when he treads the mountains” in the text of his **Libyan War**. **Ramesses II** was equated with both Seth and Baal “in his moment of power” in the record of the battle of **Qadesh**, while the battle inscriptions of **Ramesses III** call him “brave like Baal in his time,” “his form and body are exactly equal to those of Baal,” and “like Baal on top of the mountains.”

BABYLON. City and kingdom of southern Mesopotamia. An ancient center, it did not become involved with Egypt in any direct military way until the first millennium BC. Babylon appears in the **Amarna Letters** as Karduniash (the city) and Shangar (Babylonia), participating in the **gift exchange** and **diplomatic marriage** network of the Late Bronze Age. The wealth of the country meant that Babylon became the focus of aggression by its northern neighbor, **Assyria**. From 728 BC onward, Babylon was ruled either directly or through Assyrian vassals, although there were frequent rebellions and periods of independence. These often affected (if they were not directly connected with) Assyrian actions in Syria–Palestine and Egyptian ambitions there. Assyrian involvement in Babylon allowed, for example, **Taharqo** to establish himself as the defender of Palestine.

Babylon’s power increased under the Neo-Babylonian dynasty founded by Nabopolassar (626–605 BC). Rapidly expanding at a time of Assyrian weakness, Babylon was able to conquer her northern neighbor and sack Nineveh (612 BC). Babylonian expansion brought direct military conflict with Egypt under **Psamtik I** and **Nekau II**. In his last years, Psamtik I attempted to bolster the ailing kingdom of Assyria, sending military aid, which confronted the Babylonians on the Euphrates. In 610, a joint Egyptian-Assyrian force abandoned Harran to the advancing troops of Nabopolassar. Nekau II renewed the initiative on his accession, resulting in Egyptian defeat at the battle of **Carchemish** (605 BC) and, with the accession of **Nebuchadnezzar II**, a Babylonian advance on Egypt itself. The hostilities continued through the reign of **Psamtik II**. Self-interest turned Babylon from enemy to ally when, deposed by **Ahmose II**, **Wahibre** fled to Nebuchadnezzar. In an unsuccessful attempt to restore Wahibre, the Babylonian king invaded Egypt (568 BC). Babylon fell to the rising power of **Persia** under Cyrus the Great in 539. Following the death of **Alexander the Great** in the city in 323 BC, it became a key center in the vast kingdom of the **Seleukids**, before falling to the Parthians and later the Sasanids.

BABYLON, Fortress (Old Cairo). The name probably derives from the Egyptian *Per-Hapy-en-Iunu*. The Jewish historian Josephos says that Babylon was founded by **Cambyses** who installed a Chaldaean **garrison** there. The origins of the surviving fortress are believed to be of Persian date (circa 500 BC), but there might have been a fort at this place from much earlier (perhaps the place attested textually as Kher-Aha), as it stands at a strategic point controlling land access to **Memphis** from **Pelusion** and **Tjaru**. The Roman fort was rebuilt by Trajan after the **Jewish Revolt** of 116 AD. This time it also served to defend the end of the **canal**, which ran to the Red Sea along the Wadi Tumilat, apparently an extension of that built by **Darius I**. The fort was again rebuilt, in the reign of **Diocletian**, and now forms part of Old Cairo.

Babylon is irregular in shape, being a rectangle with its west corner cut off. The east wall, 300 meters long, has evidence for six rounded bastions and two square corner towers; the north wall also had six rounded bastions. The short south wall, 100 meters long, had a gate flanked by rounded bastions. There were other gates in the east and west walls, the latter with round towers. The internal arrangements are unknown because the site is now occupied by later structures.

BAGGAGE. An essential factor on any military expedition, but poorly documented. A letter preserved in Papyrus Koller lists some of the **supplies** and equipment, including weaponry and **armor**, but notably the foodstuffs for the **horses**, including straw and *kyllestis*-bread. The horses also required their grooms and stable masters. Scenes of the Egyptian **camp**, although rare, show that large **tents** were carried for the pharaoh and officers, with furniture, such as folding stools and folding beds (an example was found in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**), and headrests (shown in the **Qadesh camp**). A large body of nonmilitary personnel accompanied the expedition, such as scribes, servants, and grooms, all with their own specialist equipment. Ox-drawn carts are shown in a few scenes. These would have been extremely slow moving and affected the rate of **march** of the army. Some **literature** indicates that soldiers carried their own food and water on the march, although supplies must also have been carried in the baggage train, supplemented by forage and captures en route and during the campaign.

BAKENRANEF (reigned c. 715–710 BC). The only pharaoh ascribed to the 24th Dynasty, ruling from **Sau** in the western Delta. According to Greek sources of dubious reliability, “Bochchoris” was defeated in battle by the Kushite pharaoh **Shabaqo** and burned alive.

BASTION. Projection from the curtain wall or ramparts of a **fortress**, which enables the garrison to enfilade soldiers attacking the wall. In Egyptian fortresses, the bastions are semicircular or rectangular. Those at **Buhen** had an elaborate system of loopholes enabling the archers to shoot in a choice

of directions.

BATTLE. A single confrontation between two armies. Despite the scenes of battles, detail about the tactics and conduct of pitched battles in the pharaonic period is actually very limited, **Megiddo** and **Qadesh** being the two best-documented. In the Old Kingdom, the infantry were involved in hand-to-hand combat with **axes**. This might have followed initial confrontation by archers. In the New Kingdom and later periods until the time of **Alexander the Great**, battle was dominated by **chariots**, and later by **cavalry**, although the actual deployment of chariotry is still controversial. The reliefs give little useful information, generally depicting a melee of figures with the vast image of the victorious pharaoh and numerous equally victorious Egyptian and mercenary soldiers. Texts give a little more impression of the clangor of battle, although the emphasis is still on the victorious pharaoh. Occasionally, texts refer to the pharaoh's **war cry**.

There is little detail of naval battles, apart from that of Ramesses III against the "**Sea Peoples**" in which the fighting is between the usual infantry troops, many of whom are shown in small crafts. Battles between large warships, such as the **trireme** or **quinquereme**, do not appear to have been a feature of early warfare and only become common from the time of the confrontation between **Athens** and Persia at Salamis (480 BC). Sea battles were a feature of the Greek-Persian wars, and those of the Ptolemaic period, notably **Kos**, Salamis, and **Aktion**.

BATTLE, SCENES OF. For the vast span of Egyptian history, it is remarkable how few scenes of battle survive. Certainly, some monuments that might have carried battle reliefs, such as the temples of **Thutmose III**, **Amenhotep II**, and **Merenptah** on the west bank at **Thebes** have been almost completely destroyed, but even so, the concentration of reliefs is of the reign of **Ramesses II** and specifically of the battle of **Qadesh**. The following survey indicates scenes of battle, but also other more stylized representations that cover periods for which there are no specific battles.

From the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Periods comes a series of objects with scenes of battle or its aftermath: the **Gebel el-Arak knife** handle; tomb 100 at **Nekhen** (Hierakonpolis); the Hunter's Palette; the **Libya** (or Town's) **Palette**; the **Battlefield Palette**; and the **Narmer Palette**. The relief of **Djer** at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman is the earliest record of a campaign in **Nubia**. More conventionalized images are found on the ivory labels from the tomb of **Den** and the statues of **Khasekhemwy**.

Conventionalized images are typical of the surviving evidence from the Old Kingdom. Of the Third Dynasty, there are only smiting scenes of **Sekhemkhet** and **Sneferu** from Wadi Maghara in **Sinai**. The earliest surviving fragments of battle scenes are of Fourth Dynasty date, from the

pyramid temple (or a private tomb) of the reign of **Khufu** or Khafre at Giza. The pyramid temples of the Fifth Dynasty pharaohs **Userkaf** and **Unas** carried battle scenes as well as more conventional smiting scenes. Scenes in the pyramid temple of **Sahure** were copied directly by his successor Niuserre and, in the Sixth Dynasty, by **Pepy II**. There are scenes of attack on **fortifications** in the private tombs of Kaemheset (at **Saqqara**) and Inti (at **Deshasheh**).

The troubled times of the First Intermediate Period and early 11th Dynasty are reflected in the scenes of conflict and attacks on towns in the tomb of Ankhtify at Moalla, of Setka at **Aswan**, of Intef at Thebes (TT 386), and of Baqet III and Khety at Beni Hasan. Foreign wars were shown in the reliefs of the temple of **Menthuhotep II** at Thebes. In the 12th Dynasty, the tombs of Khnumhotep and Amenemhat at Beni Hasan repeat scenes of siege, modeled on those of earlier tombs. The only surviving royal battle reliefs of the 12th Dynasty are fragments from the pyramid complexes of **Senusret I** at Lisht and **Senusret III** at Dahshur.

Despite the richness of the **literature** relating to the military activities of both pharaohs and officials in the early 18th Dynasty, hardly any scenes depict the battles or campaigns. Some fragments of relief have recently been excavated in the temple of **Ahmose I** at Abydos, probably relating to the **Hyksos Wars**. The body of the **chariot** of **Thutmose IV** depicts the pharaoh in battle with the Asiatics, and the painted box from the tomb of **Tutankhamun** depicted both Asiatic and Nubian battles. In both cases, the scenes are probably more ideological than historical. Nevertheless, these scenes point to the development of a genre of battle depictions, which is continued in the 19th Dynasty and suggests that other scenes have been destroyed. Tutankhamun erected a temple at Karnak that had scenes of Asiatic and Nubian Wars, which have recently been reconstructed. The chapel of **Horemheb** at Gebel **Silsila** depicts a Nubian campaign, perhaps that of the reign of Tutankhamun.

The largest number of battle scenes surviving is from the 19th and 20th Dynasties. At Karnak, a cycle of reliefs depicts the battles of **Sety I** with Libyans, Asiatics, **Shasu**, and **Hittites**. Fragments that can probably be attributed to the reign of Sety I were recovered from the temple of Sesebi in Upper Nubia and depict a Nubian battle, perhaps in the campaign against **Irem**.

The reign of Ramesses II provides the largest number of surviving battle scenes, but most of these depict the battle of Qadesh. There might have been battle reliefs at both Per-Ramesses in the eastern Delta and at Memphis, but nothing has yet been recovered from the sites. At Abydos, a Syro-Palestinian campaign (badly damaged) decorated the outer court of the temple of Sety I. The outer wall of his own temple at Abydos carries scenes of the Qadesh campaign. In the Theban region, the temple of Karnak (Hypostyle Hall, outer wall) had scenes of Qadesh, later altered, and Syro-

Palestinian Wars. The pylon and the outer west wall of the temple of Luxor carry reliefs of Qadesh. The pharaoh's temple on the west bank (the Ramesseum) has reliefs showing Qadesh and other Syro-Palestinian conflicts. In Nubia, the earliest temple of the reign, at Beit el-Wali, details a Nubian battle, perhaps of the reign of Sety I. There are also more conventionalized scenes of conflict in Syria-Palestine and with the Libyans. At Derr, there are scenes of Syro-Palestinian conflict. A badly damaged Nubian battle scene in the same temple is closely modeled on that at Beit el-Wali. The reliefs of the temple of Aksha are badly damaged. The Great Temple of Abu Simbel carries scenes of the Qadesh campaign and a more conventional Nubian battle and attack on Libyans. At Amara West there were scenes of the campaign against Irem.

A relief fragment from a Ramesside temple, found at Deir el-Bahari, shows Asiatics under the royal chariot. It cannot be ascribed to any specific reign.

The major cycle of battle reliefs of the 20th Dynasty is that of the reign of **Ramesses III** at **Medinet Habu**. These begin with the Nubian battles, against Irem, and a conflict in Syria-Palestine, considered by some Egyptologists to have been copied from reliefs of an earlier reign. The most important scenes show the equipping of the army and the battle with the **Sea Peoples**, and the Libyan Wars. Further scenes at Karnak (temple of **Amun**) show the Libyan Wars and the pharaoh's temple in the precinct of Mut depicts the second campaign against the Libyans.

There is hardly anything later than the 20th Dynasty from Egypt depicting battle, although conventional imagery continues (e.g., the relief of the victorious **Sheshonq I** at Karnak) and has been used to claim that certain pharaohs fought foreign wars (e.g., **Siamun**). The Kushite king **Piye** recorded his conquest of Egypt in a cycle of reliefs in the temple of Amun at Gebel Barkal (**Napata**). The invasion of Egypt by **Ashurbanipal**, king of **Assyria**, was depicted in reliefs in the palace at Nineveh. One relief shows the sack of an Egyptian city and the **deportation** of its people. Glazed tile decoration also showed incidents of the campaigns, and preserved fragments show dead Egyptians and Kushites in water and beneath Assyrian chariots. Only conventional images, such as smiting scenes, survive from the Late Period. The text of the Rosetta Stone describes statues of Ptolemy V that were to be set up in the temples. These showed the pharaoh receiving weapons from the principal god of the temple. Similar conventional images of smiting continue into the Roman period, notably at the temples of Esna and Dendera, where emperors continue to be depicted as pharaohs.

BATTLEFIELD PALETTE. A fragmentary ceremonial slate palette of Predynastic date that carries a scene of the aftermath of battle on its obverse. The field is strewn with the bodies of the dead, some of whom are

being attacked by vultures and other birds. A lion preys on the body of a larger figure. The defeated all have stylized curly hair and beards and are naked. Some have their arms tied behind their backs. Standards, which have been given arms, grasp two captives who have their arms secured behind their backs. The standards are surmounted by divine emblems, a falcon and an ibis, suggesting this might be a record of one of the wars of unification. The palette might have come from **Nekhen** or the region of Abydos; it is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

BERM. The ledge between the ditch and the base of a parapet in a **fortification**.

BETH SHEAN. *Tell al-Husn* in Jordan 32°29' N 35°32' E. **Garrison** town south of the Sea of Galilee, on the west bank of the River Jordan. Beth Shean stands at a strategic point controlling the route via the Jezreel Valley to Damascus. There have been many excavations here and discoveries include an important stela of **Sety I** relating to his Asiatic campaigns. There was an Egyptian garrison in the town, certainly until the time of **Ramesses III**, in whose reign it included **mercenary** troops of **Peleset** and **Tjekker**. Beth Shean was destroyed by fire in the 20th Dynasty, the blame usually being placed on the “**Sea Peoples**.”

BLEMMYES. A people of Lower **Nubia** who posed a considerable threat to the southern **border** and the internal security of Egypt, particularly Upper Egypt, in the later Roman period. They were involved in conflicts with the Roman forces and were apparently defeated by Diocletian in 297 AD. Problems persisted in the fourth century until the Blemmyes seized control of the **Dodekaschoinos** around 395/400 AD. They are recorded as raiding in Upper Egypt in the early fifth century, causing people to flee to monasteries for safety. The raids reached **Kharga Oasis**. The imperial response might have been a strengthened **garrison** with new barracks on the island of **Abu** (Elephantine). The Blemmyes were at times variously in conflict and alliance with the other people of northern Nubia, the Noubades. Roman forces defeated a joint army of Blemmyes and Noubades in 452 AD. Later the Blemmyes were defeated by the Noubadian king, Silko, who records three battles in an inscription in the temple of Kalabsha. The long-distance raids of the Blemmyes might have been made possible, or at least easier, by use of the **camel**.

BODYGUARD. Armed force to protect the pharaoh or high officials. The royal bodyguard is frequently depicted in the tombs at Amarna, where it accompanies the public appearances of **Akhenaten**. It includes standard bearers and a variety of troops: Egyptians with **spears** and **axes**, Nubians with **bows** or cudgels, Asiatics with spears and **khepesh**-swords. A trumpeter accompanies them. Various autobiographical texts refer to

serving in the royal bodyguard.

BORDER. A fixed line marking the end of a polity. Because of its geography, most of Egypt was not clearly defined by borders but by looser frontiers and boundaries. The clearest border was that to the south, against **Nubia**, where the **cataracts of the Nile** formed a clear physical border, which was then defended by **fortresses**. One of the roles of the pharaoh was to defend, and extend, the boundaries of Egypt. In the New Kingdom it is usually **Amun** who charges the pharaoh with this and to whom success is accredited. Stelae and rock inscriptions were used to mark borders and boundaries. In Nubia, **Thutmose I** left inscriptions at Tumbos (at the Third Cataract) and at **Hagar el-Merwa**: these defined the Nile and desert limits of Egyptian influence at one point in his reign (but not necessarily the actual riverine border). The Nubian inscriptions were paralleled by one set up (perhaps rock-cut) in **Naharin** when the pharaoh crossed the river Euphrates. The northeastern border with Asia was marked by the canal and fortress system around **Tjaru**. The two stelae of **Senusret III** erected in the fortress of **Semna** at the Second Cataract (both now in the Berlin Museum) are the best examples of border stelae. The first stela was set up in year 8, the second in year 16. The pharaoh addresses the troops at the southern border.

I have established my border further south than my fathers,

I increased that which was bequeathed to me . . .

A coward is he who is driven from his border.

As for any son of mine who shall maintain this border which my majesty has made, he is my son . . . The true son is he who champions his father, who guards the border of his begetter. But he who abandons it, who fails to fight for it, he is not my son, he was not born to me.

The inscription concludes with the statement that the pharaoh had set up an image at the border so that the soldiers stationed would fight on its behalf. Although the Egyptian word employed (*tut*) does mean statue, and could imply “one within the fortress temple,” it can also mean the stela itself. Whichever was meant, it symbolized the pharaoh’s presence.

The east and west borders of Upper Egypt and Nubia were much more difficult to control. There were undoubtedly watchtowers and guard stations at the entrance to the Nile Valley from major desert roads. In the Roman period, a series of forts was built in Kharga Oasis and the vulnerable west end of the Fayum, at **Dionysias**. It has been suggested that a series of small forts protected the western limit of the Delta and extended along the coast from **Rakote** via **Karm Abu-Girg**, **el-Gharbaniyat**, and **Alamein** to

Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. There are also Roman forts in the Eastern Desert of Upper Egypt. The most vulnerable border to the east was that which included the **Ways of Horus** and the fortress system of **Tjaru** and **Pelusion**.

BOREDOM. Boredom must have afflicted troops in many capacities: it is notably recorded in the text of Papyrus Anastasi IV, reputedly a letter from an official in an Asiatic **garrison**. He complains that everything he brought with him has vanished, although there is no one to rob him; the trees have no fruit, his eyes “turn longingly to the road that goes to **Djahy**”; he is plagued by gnats, midges, and sand-flies according to the time of day; the heat is unending and to cap it all, the scribe with him has a twitch and the toothache. The **Semna** dispatches also record the tedium of garrison life with their monotonous records of small groups of nomadic Nubians. The presence of opium vessels at **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham** suggests that the troops might have resorted to extreme ways of alleviating boredom. The bored charioteer is a *leitmotif* of bureaucratic tomb paintings. *See also* BUREAUCRACY.

BOUKOLOI. Troops recruited in the countryside, especially associated with the herdsmen of the **Delta**. They revolted in 171/172 AD and joined a wider **rebellion**, led by a priest Isidoros. They were accused of killing and eating a Roman centurion. The force marched on **Alexandria** but was suppressed by the governor of Syria, Avidius Cassius.

BOWS. 1. SELF-BOWS. The earlier type of bow consisted of a simple wooden stave with gut string attached. This type was universal in the Early Bronze Age (Old Kingdom). In western Asia, it was replaced by the **composite bow**. In Egypt, the self-bow continued to be widely used, especially by Nubian troops. The bowstrings were of gut attached by 10 or 12 twists around each end of the bow and secured by one or more hitches at one end. Good examples of strung bows were found with the bodies of the soldiers of **Menthuhotep II** buried at Deir el-Bahari. There were 14 self-bows in the burial of **Tutankhamun**, varying in length. The shortest was 0.67 meter and was perhaps made for the pharaoh as a child. Most of the bows were larger, ranging from 1.2 meters to 1.77 meters, with three over 1.9 meters. The self-bow had a range of perhaps 155–190 meters.

BOWS. 2. COMPOSITE BOWS. A laminated bow, sometimes called a *compound bow*. The form was developed in western Asia and replaced the **self-bow** there. It was the bow of the Late Bronze Age (New Kingdom), and quickly adopted in Egypt. There is little firm evidence for its use after the 20th Dynasty in Egypt, but it continued in use in western Asia until the time of the Persian Empire. The composite bow is distinctive in representation: unstrung, the bow has a double-curved profile, with an

inward angle at the grip, but when strung, this angle becomes external and the whole bow assumes a triangular profile. When the bow is drawn, it displays a sweeping curve, the angle almost completely disappearing. The composite bow has a wooden core (usually ash), which was covered with a layer of sinew on the back and a layer of horn on the face. This is then covered with a sheath of bark, usually birch. This covering was decorated, often elaborately. The tomb of **Tutankhamun** produced a collection of around 30 bows of differing sizes, some probably made for the pharaoh as a child (measuring 0.34 meter). The larger specimens, some elaborately decorated, were up to 1.4 meters in length. The bowstrings were of gut (some of Tutankhamun's in four-strand twisted gut), which was probably attached through an eye. The composite bow had a range greater than the self-bow, with a modern replica achieving 230–260 meters. In the classical world, it seems to have been effective up to 175 meters.

Such bows are referred to as part of the **gift exchange** in the **Amarna Letters** coming from **Mitanni**, and it was assumed that, because of the materials employed in their manufacture, all composite bows were imported. It is now certain that some were manufactured in Egypt and that the bark (usually birch) could be imported. Birch bark remains pliable for some time, but even if it dries out, it can be used, if softened again. Scenes in the Theban tombs of Puyemre and Menkheperresonb show the manufacture of bows in the workshops of the temple of **Amun**.

BROOK-OF-EGYPT. Greek **Rhinocorula** or *Rhinocorura*, the modern el-Arish. At the seaward end of the Wadi el-Arish, it formed the boundary between Egypt and the empire of **Assyria** and probably that between Egypt and **Babylon** under **Nebuchadnezzar II**.

BUCOLIC TROOPS. *See* BOUKOLOI.

BUHEN. Major **fortress** and supply depot at the foot of the Second **Cataract**. From here, the river was navigable without major obstruction as far as the First Cataract. There were two **fortifications**: a vast outer enclosure wall and the inner fort (or citadel). The outer wall initially served as the defense of the site while the inner fort was being constructed. In the first stage, the outer wall was 4 meters thick, with 32 rounded bastions set 22 meters apart. It was later altered to a wall with towers and made more secure by the construction of the massive barbican gate and by a river wall connecting it with the inner fort. Additional defenses were the **berm** (dry ditch) 6.0 meters wide and 3.0 meters deep that followed the same line as the wall with salients where the towers, gates, and barbican projected. The battered sides of the ditch were faced in thick mud and white gypsum plaster. The towers and walls had a battered base about 1.50 meters high. The area between the base of the wall and the berm was paved in brick. On the outer side of the berm, the counterscarp was topped with a brick wall from which

a glacis descended to ground level. In places, the ditch was cut into the escarpment, but elsewhere the scarp and counterscarp were revetted with walls of brick and rough stone.

On the **desert** side, the main entrance was through the barbican, a brick tower 47 meters long and 30 meters wide. It had projecting square bastions and a battered base. The tower was designed to prevent large numbers of troops entering at once. The barbican was divided by three gateways into two baffles (courts), the first with two square bastions overlooking it, the second with four.

The inner fort or citadel also had a surrounding ditch. It was a rectangular structure, enclosing an area 150 meters by 138 meters with its main walls being 5.0 meters thick. The height of the walls has been estimated at 8.0–9.0 meters or 11.0 meters. Bastions or towers were set every 5.0 meters and there were large square corner towers, perhaps higher than the curtain walls. On the three landward sides, ramparts comprising a berm and parapets with loopholes protected the citadel. The ditch was 7.3 meters wide and 3.1 meters deep, lined with white gypsum plaster.

The bastions had an elaborate series of loopholes. A single embrasure opened onto triple loopholes. The embrasures were arranged in two rows, the lower being flush with the floor. Altogether, the bastion could accommodate up to 10 or 12 **archers**, each with a variety of angles to shoot, enabling a devastating crossfire on any attackers.

The entrance to the inner fort was the west gate, like the barbican in the outer defenses, a massive tower with double doors of wood and a drawbridge on rollers. If the outer defenses were breached, the lower ramparts could easily have been reached, but the defense of the archers in the bastions would have limited access to the main walls of the fort. Any attack on the west gate faced the same problems as in the barbican, and even if access was gained, it led directly onto a small square with a baffle wall formed by a main block of the military quarters, enabling the invaders to be surrounded.

The buildings inside the citadel were laid out on a grid plan on three terraces sloping down from west to east toward the river. Two axial roads created three zones with the residence of the commandant in the north, with the temple (possibly in the Middle Kingdom, certainly in the New Kingdom), and with some entrepôts and living quarters. In the central zone, the buildings were mainly living quarters or workshops. The southern zone contained residences for the officers, with more barracks or workshops.

The river defenses show that there was little fear of attack. Two quays projected over 21 meters into the river. There was certainly one water gate, perhaps two.

The garrison at Buhen may have approached 2,000. The estimate of its defense needs, calculated on the length of wall, would require between 350

and 700 for the inner fort and 700 to 1,400 for the outer defenses.

Buhen was captured by the Kushite rulers of **Kerma** in the 13th Dynasty and occupied by a mixed garrison of Nubian troops with Egyptian commanders. There was evidence for major fires in some parts of the fort, probably associated with its capture. The fort was reoccupied during the Theban expansion, at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th Dynasties, in the reigns of **Kamose** and **Ahmose**. It was extensively refortified, but during the later New Kingdom, its military role declined, although it must have remained an important staging post and depot. Following the Egyptian withdrawal from **Nubia** at the end of the 20th Dynasty, Buhen was abandoned until a period of reoccupation in the 25th Dynasty. As in the fortresses at **Semna**, **Kumma**, and **Qasr Ibrim**, the temple was restored by **Taharqo**, and Buhen certainly had a garrison and served as a staging post. There is no evidence for later military activity here.

BULL. The bull was one of the characteristic images of the pharaoh from Predynastic times onward. The pharaoh as bull appears trampling and goring an enemy (perhaps a **Libyan**) on a slate palette. On the **Narmer** Palette, he appears as a bull demolishing a **fortification**. Throughout the New Kingdom, each pharaoh was proclaimed as “Horus, the mighty bull.” At the battle of **Qadesh**, **Ramesses II** was “firm-hearted like a bull ready for battle,” and in the texts of his Libyan war of year 5, **Ramesses III** is described as “like a bull standing on the battle field, his eyes on his horns, prepared and ready to attack his assailants with his head.” Military **standards** give the names of some of the platoons of the army, which often have epithets of the pharaoh such as “Bull of Nubia.” The bull was associated with a number of gods, including **Monthu**.

BUREAUCRACY. Egypt was one of the most bureaucratic civilizations of the ancient world and this certainly extended to the arena of war. Because writing was the access to high office and indicated a member of the elite, all high officials were literate. Indeed, some generals, such as **Horemheb**, erected statues of themselves as scribes. In the Old Kingdom, a major military expedition was placed under the command of Weni, presumably because his organizational skills were of greater importance than those of the commanders of levies.

The intimate relationship between military and bureaucracy is emphasized by the terminology, in which many military terms and titles have direct parallels in civil and priestly spheres. For example, the word *sa* for a company or regiment of troops is the same as a *phyle* of priests; the *weretu* is both a civil administrator and military official; the *djadja* was both the court of magistrates and council of war; *mesha* and *tjeset* were words applied to both the army and gangs of workmen.

In the 18th Dynasty, with the introduction of **chariots** and **horses**, chariotry became the second skill that defined a member of the elite. This is shown by the length of time autobiographies accord to study at “school” and time “in the stables.” The scenes of **reward** at Amarna show that records of gifts distributed to officials were being kept in triplicate. Similarly, in scenes of the aftermath of battle, scribes are keeping records of the severed hands and phalluses of the dead enemies. There are many versions of the texts, often known collectively as “Be a scribe,” which were used as writing exercises. These emphasize the easy life of the scribe, compared with that of all other workers, especially that of a soldier.

CAMBYSES (reigned 530–522 BC, in Egypt from 525 BC). Great King of **Persia** and ruler of Egypt. Cambyses was the son of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the power of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty. The Persian Empire had expanded rapidly with its conquest of **Babylon** and the Neo-Babylonian Empire and its defeat of the Median king Astyages, whose empire stretched across north Mesopotamia into Anatolia. Cyrus did not attempt to attack Egypt, under the rule of **Ahmose II**, but the country presented the major threat to Persian rule in western Asia. Preparations for the advance on Egypt involved the formation of a Persian navy and the consolidation of Persian control of the eastern Mediterranean. The Persians gained control of Egypt's main ally, **Cyprus**, and sought assistance from the **Arabs** who controlled the difficult route across the **Sinai Peninsula**. The new Persian fleet was not ready for action until 526, and the opportunity for invasion came with the death of Ahmose and accession of his son **Psamtik III**.

The Egyptian and Persian armies engaged in the eastern Delta, near **Pelusion**. The Egyptians were defeated and retreated to **Memphis**. The Persian herald, who was sent to seek the city's surrender, was killed, and Memphis was besieged, falling after 10 days. Psamtik III was taken into captivity and, accused of fomenting a rebellion, put to death. With the capture of Memphis, Cambyses received the submission of the Greek cities in **Libya**, **Cyrene**, and Barca.

The events of Cambyses' invasion are recorded by Herodotos, but he is extremely hostile to the Persian ruler, as are other ancient traditions, particularly those from Egypt itself. Herodotos reports a failed attempt by Cambyses to invade **Nubia**, which probably masks actions on the southern frontier. The evidence suggests that the Persians did have some control of Lower Nubia, perhaps as far as the Second Cataract with the **fortress of Dorginarti** as their base. There was certainly diplomatic contact with **Meroe**, and the Kushite rulers supplied troops that fought in the Persian invasion of Greece. **Kush** appears as the last of the satrapies in Persian lists and probably represents Lower Nubia, the administrative districts later known as the **Dodekaschoinos** and the **Triakontaschoinos**.

Cambyses is also reported to have sent another failed expedition to the western Oases. Again, the hostility to the king in tradition may conceal a success. It is certain that **Kharga Oasis** was under Persian control in the reign of Cambyses' successor, Darius I, who built the temple of Hibis and the chapel within the fortress of **Qasr el-Ghueida**.

A brief, but contemporary, Egyptian account of the Persian invasion is to

be found in the autobiographical inscription on the statue of **Wedjahorresnet**, commander of the **navy** in the reigns of Ahmose II and Psamtik III.

The death of Cambyses and accession of **Darius I** saw widespread rebellion in the Persian Empire, although it is unknown whether Egypt was also involved.

CAMELS. The camel was domesticated in Arabia and first appears in a military context in the scenes of the war of **Ashurbanipal**, king of **Assyria**, against the **Arabs** in the seventh century BC. It was, until recently, thought that the camel was not used in Egypt until the Persian period. However, excavations at **Qasr Ibrim** identified camel dung within a sealed-context, which dates to early in the first millennium BC. Nevertheless, depictions of camels are rare before Ptolemaic and Roman times. The **Seleukid** kings of Syria deployed camel-borne troops, but they were used as pack animals for conveyance of **supplies** and **baggage**. The Roman army also used camel-borne troops, the *dromedarii*.

It was assumed that the acquisition of the camel was a contributory factor in the expansion of the **Blemmyes**, a people of the Eastern Desert of Lower **Nubia**, but in the light of the Qasr Ibrim material this must now be questioned. Nevertheless, the camel must have made the Blemmyan long-distance raids into Upper Egypt and Kharga Oasis feasible. There are two- and three-dimensional images of camels and riders from **Meroe**, and texts show that the **desert** routes from the Fourth Cataract were being used extensively in the first centuries AD.

CAMP. Scenes of battle of **Qadesh** show the camp encircled by a wall of **shields** with gateways flanked by images of lions. The royal encampment stands at the center with large **tents**. There are areas where **chariots** are being repaired and checked, and donkeys are being given fodder. Elsewhere, a footsore soldier is being treated; a man is drinking from a water skin; there is a dispute over rations; men are fighting, while others are sitting doing nothing and being berated for it.

CANAAN. Egypt's nearest neighbor in western Asia, sometimes included in the looser term **Retenu**. The name is *Kanaan* in both Egyptian and Hebrew and *Kinakhkhi* or *Kinakhni* in Akkadian (e.g., the **Amarna Letters**). Canaan comprised the plain between the Mediterranean on the west and the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley on the east and included important towns, such as **Gaza**, **Joppa**, and **Jerusalem**. It extended north as far as the modern border of Israel and Lebanon. There is now evidence for a strong Egyptian presence along the coast of Canaan (from Gaza northward) in the Early Bronze Age, perhaps connected with the passage of ships to Byblos. In the later part of the Middle Bronze Age, southern Canaan became a stronghold

of the **Hyksos**, who had a major base at **Sharuhén**. Following the Egyptian campaigns against the Hyksos and the capture of Sharuhén by **Ahmose**, the Egyptians absorbed Canaan in a series of campaigns, which caused massive destruction of towns. There is evidence for **deportation** of some of the population. Canaan was divided into city-states, although there were also some seasonally nomadic groups, such as the **Shasu**. The Egyptians installed **garrisons** and imposed tight control on the local rulers. There is considerable evidence about the region in the **Amarna Letters**. In the reigns of **Sety I** and **Ramesses II**, there was another series of campaigns to re-enforce Egyptian control in response to Hittite activities farther north. The region remained firmly under Egyptian control throughout the 19th and earlier 20th Dynasties. There is evidence for the destruction of major sites and the end of Egyptian rule in the reign of **Ramesses VI**.

CANAL. Although a regular feature of Egypt's irrigation pattern, canals were also used for defensive purposes and were made to facilitate navigation through the First **Cataract**. The most important defensive canal was that which guarded the eastern **border**, through **Tjaru**, depicted on reliefs of **Sety I** as filled with crocodiles and called "the dividing waters." The largest canal was that through the **Wadi Tumilat** begun by **Nekau II** and completed or enlarged by **Darius I**. Ptolemy II cleared the canal, and Trajan later extended it to **Babylon**. All canals needed regular maintenance and clearance to prevent them from either silting or sanding up.

CARCHEMISH (Karkamiš). City of north Syria on the River Euphrates. It was the site of a battle (605 BC) between the armies of **Nekau II** and **Babylon**, whose forces were led by Prince **Nebuchadnezzar**. The Egyptians had established themselves within the city. Ousted by the Babylonians, there was a second battle near Hamath as they retreated southward.

CATARACTS OF THE NILE. Major obstacles to navigation, some of which served as frontiers between Egypt and the kingdoms of **Nubia**. All of the cataracts lie within the region of sandstone, south of Gebel Silsila in Upper Egypt and are points where the underlying granite rocks break through, impeding the northward flow of the river and creating rapids and islands. The principal cataracts are numbered from north to south, smaller ones are named. From the First Cataract to the delta, there are no major obstructions to navigation (except sandbanks).

The First Cataract. The large island of **Abu** (Elephantine) stands at the foot of the First Cataract and was the site of an important settlement from late Predynastic times onward. Elephantine seems originally to have been an Egyptian trading center within Nubian territory, but by the time of the unification of Egypt it marked the southern frontier. Both Elephantine and the later mainland settlement of Syene (**Aswan**) always remained the

southern **border** of Egypt, territories lying to the south generally coming under the rule of designated officials, from the beginning of the 18th-Dynasty-styled **viceroys**. At the head of the cataract was the **fortress** of **Senmut**, thought by some to have been on the island of Bigga, with a port on the mainland opposite. A military road and defensive **wall** connected Aswan with the port. Numerous inscriptions are carved on the granite rocks throughout the First Cataract region recording military campaigns. In the Roman period, a fortress was on the mainland opposite the island of Philae, part of a defensive network of watchtowers throughout Upper Egypt. A **canal** was constructed through the cataract near the island of Sehel in year 8 of **Senusret I** and called "The ways of Khakaure (Senusret I) are forever." It was 150 cubits long (approximately 80 meters), 50 cubits wide (26 meters), and 15 cubits (8 meters) deep. The canal was cleared again in the reigns of **Thutmose I** and **Thutmose III**, doubtless to ease navigation of fleets into Nubia. Difficulties in keeping it clear of boulders could have led to the creation of the port at the head of the cataract.

The Second Cataract. Although there were smaller rapids and cataracts, such as the "Kalabsha Gate," in Lower Nubia, the river was navigable as far as **Buhen** at the foot of the Second Cataract. The pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty, notably **Senusret I** and **Senusret III** established this cataract, actually an extended series of rapids and islands, as their southern border. The Second Cataract is situated in the barren Nubian Desert, where there is very little cultivable land on the riverbanks and islands. The cataract begins at **Semna**, where the Nile is forced through the narrowest point of its whole length. This rocky gorge was dominated by the forts of Semna and **Kumma**. Northward, for a distance of some 70 kilometers, there were islands and rapids, which made navigation difficult. This whole region was controlled by a series of small fortresses built on the west bank and islands at signaling distance from each other and controlling the separate small cataracts. These forts, **Uronarti**, **Shalfak**, and **Askut**, have similarities of design and were probably the work of one architect. At **Mirgissa**, boats were taken from the river and dragged over the great slipway. Buhen, at the foot of the cataract was a major supply and depot for the goods brought from the south.

The Dal Cataract. South of the Second Cataract lies an inhospitable region with relatively few ancient remains. At Tangur north of Dal are rock inscriptions recording military expeditions, notably of **Thutmose III**. South of the Dal Cataract there is more fertile land, notably the island of **Sai**.

The Third Cataract. The Third Cataract marks the northern end of the Dongola-Napata Reach of the Nile. This was a rich region of arable- or pastureland and was the center of the kingdom of **Kush**, with its main city at **Kerma** and, later the Kushite state, which conquered Egypt (the 25th Dynasty). With the Egyptian reoccupation of Lower Nubia in the reigns of **Kamose** and **Ahmose**, there were activities south of the Second Cataract,

doubtless to secure it as a safe southern frontier. The fortress on the island of **Sai** was built in the reign of Ahmose or that of **Amenhotep I**. However, the power of the Kerma rulers continued and a fortress was built on the island of **Tumbos** in the Third Cataract. A rock inscription of **Thutmose I** at Tumbos indicates this as his southern border.

The Fourth Cataract. The Fourth Cataract marked the limit of Egyptian control along the Nile in Nubia in the New Kingdom. Coming from the south, the Nile and Atbara Rivers join, moving northward in a great arc through barren desert. This stretch of the river has numerous islands, no significant cultivable land, and when the river began to flow southwest, the crosswinds and currents render navigation impossible. The river becomes navigable again in the reign of the modern town of Kareima, close to the ancient sites of **Napata** and Gebel Barkal. Throughout history, the **desert** roads crossing the Bayuda between Sanam and **Meroe** have been preferred to the river route. The Fourth Cataract therefore marked a natural southern limit to Egyptian expansion. It is possible that the New Kingdom pharaohs crossed the Bayuda to **Irem** and **Miu**, but the location of these territories so far south is still controversial. The desert roads from Lower Nubia, leaving the river at Korosko, regained the river in the vicinity of Abu Hamed and **Hagar el-Merwa**, where rock inscriptions of Thutmose I and **Thutmose III** mark an Egyptian frontier. Egyptian security of this desert route was to protect the gold mines of **Ikayta**.

CAVALRY. The **horses** used in the 18th Dynasty seem to have been small, and it is only very rarely that a figure is shown riding one. Saddles were not used and the riding of horses seems to have been confined to scouts or moments of emergency: the Libyan prince, **Tefnakht**, is said to have mounted his horse and fled **Memphis**, without asking for his **chariot**. Cavalry did not become a significant force until the Late Assyrian period. Stephanie Dailey has charted the increasing use of cavalry as revealed by the Assyrian texts. These suggest that initially (e.g., at the battle of **Qarqar** in 853 BC) one horse and rider was acting alongside each chariot. In slightly later Assyrian reliefs, a pair of riders accompanies each chariot, but by the time of **Sargon II** cavalry were outnumbering chariots. Although the records of the battle of Qarqar show that cavalry was being used alongside chariots in Syria, some western states, such as Israel, had no cavalry at all. This was presumably due to preference, rather than inability to acquire cavalry horses. The inscription of **Piye**, the principal Egyptian text for this period, does not indicate the use of cavalry by either Egyptian or Kushite forces. Although chariots continued to be used, they were supplanted by the more versatile cavalry in later warfare. The cavalry were an important element in the **army** of the Ptolemaic period, placed on the wings, flanking the **phalanx**.

CHAONNOPHRIS (ANKH-WENNEFER) (reigned 197–186 BC) Rebel pharaoh in the reign of **Ptolemy V**, successor to **Haronnophris**. His reign appears to have begun in 197, but he continued the regnal years of his predecessor. Before the end of the year, Ptolemy V's army regained control of **Thebes** and Chaonnophris went north, perhaps as far as the Lykopolite nome (Asyut). He successfully cut off the Greek army in Thebes. Although the region from Thebes to **Abu** (Elephantine) was controlled by the Ptolemaic army, it was cut off from the north. Around 194, the Greek troops in Thebes gave up the town and went upstream. Chaonnophris still controlled the Theban region in year 14 of Ptolemy V (189/188), but by the summer of 187 BC it was in the hands of Ptolemy V. Chaonnophris had been driven from Thebes and had fled to Nubia. On the 27 August 186 BC, Komanos, commanding the army for Ptolemy V, defeated Chaonnophris and his Nubian support.

CHARIOT. (Egyptian: *wereryt* or *merkebet*) The introduction of the light two-wheeled chariot driven by **horses** was the most radical development in early warfare. In the Early and Middle Bronze Ages (the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms), **infantry** dominated warfare. In southern Mesopotamia (Sumer), four-wheeled chariots driven by four donkeys (or onagers) are attested from Ur. They were presumably heavy, relatively slow-moving vehicles, as they had solid, rather than spoked, wheels: a solid wheel of oak, one meter in diameter, can weigh over 100 pounds. These chariots seem to have served as fighting platforms. There is no evidence for anything similar from Egypt.

The chariot appeared in the Near East and Egypt in the middle of the second millennium BC and was rapidly adopted in all countries. Earlier scholarship attributed the appearance of the chariot and domesticated horse to new groups arriving in the region. These were thought to be Indo-European speakers and to represent a horse-breeding, chariot-owning aristocracy (the “Aryans”), which was to dominate the Late Bronze Age. The **Kassite** dynasty in **Babylon**, the Hurrians of **Mitanni**, and, more generally, a class called the **mariyannu**, were all thought to represent these northern invaders. It is now clear that the chariot developed in Eastern Anatolia *not* northern Europe. The supposed racial origins of the Kassites and Hurrians can also be discounted, and the *mariyannu*, although certainly charioteers, were not an ethnic group nor an exclusive warrior caste. The introduction of chariotry into Egypt is accredited to the **Hyksos**.

Surviving examples. The evidence for the chariot in Egypt comes from a number of sources. There are numerous depictions of chariots in Egyptian art. They appear in temple reliefs of battles and are found in scenes in private tombs showing hunting and official life. There are also complete examples and numerous fragments of chariots surviving. Eleven complete examples, all of the later 18th Dynasty, have been recovered from tombs at

Thebes. One example, now in the Florence Museum, is from a private tomb, the remainder come from the Valley of the Kings. The body of a chariot was found in the tomb of **Thutmose IV**, decorated with scenes of battle. Complete examples were in the tomb of Yuya, himself a military official and father of Queen Tiye, wife of **Amenhotep III**. The largest number of examples, six in all, comes from the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. These included ceremonial chariots and light war vehicles. Fragments have been recovered from the tombs of **Amenhotep II** and Amenhotep III. The larger royal tombs of the Ramesside period had a room called the “house of gold” or “the chariot hall.” This hall is named on a papyrus with a plan of a royal tomb, probably that of **Ramesses IV**, now preserved in the Turin Museum.

Construction. Chariots are made of a frame of bent wood covered with leather. The heavier ceremonial chariots have gilded leather or wooden panels with colored glass and stone inlays. The chariots had a very wide wheel track to ensure stability on fast turns. The chariot in the Florence Museum has a narrower wheel track than the Tutankhamun examples. The car was approximately hip-high and fully open at the rear, which made it easy to jump into quickly. The car was wide enough to hold two people standing side by side: one from Tutankhamun’s tomb was 1.02 meters wide by 0.44 meter deep. The axle was made of ash and in one example measures 2.3 meters in length. In all surviving chariots, the axle is placed at the rear, although in some artistic representations the axle and wheel have been moved forward, making them central to the body. The flooring is a leather thong mesh. The pole, usually of elm, was heat-bent and about 2.89 meters long. The wheels had felloes of ash, spokes of evergreen oak, and spoke lashings of birch bark. The earlier chariots had wheels with four spokes; later chariots had six-spoke wheels. Thutmose IV is depicted in a chariot with six-spoke wheels in battle with Asiatics, who are using chariots with four-spoke wheels. In the scenes of Ramesses III’s battles, the **Libyans** drive chariots with both four- and six-spoke wheels. Chariot wheels, felloes, and spokes were made from heat-treated wood. To make a spoke, single pieces of wood were bent at 90 degrees (for 4-spoke) or 60 degrees (six-spoke) and glued back to back. Wet rawhide was bound around them at the nave and then lashed with birch bark for waterproofing. Tires were of leather. Egyptian chariots were lightweight, one modern replica weighing 34 kilograms.

Acquisition of chariots. Chariotry is first mentioned in the second stela of **Kamose** as belonging to the Hyksos. The earliest depiction of a chariot appears to be in the tomb of Renni at el Kab (**Nekheh**) of the time of **Amenhotep I**. Chariots then begin to appear more frequently in both texts and scenes. The accounts of **battles**, such as the texts of **Ahmosé son of Ebana**, show that chariots were still rather rare in Egypt in the early 18th Dynasty and those captured were presented to the pharaoh. The capture of

numerous horses and chariots in the campaigns of **Thutmose III** suggests that the Egyptians were still trying to increase their numbers. A fragment of a tomb painting from the tomb of Nebamun (reign of Thutmose IV) shows a chariot drawn by mules or hinnies (the offspring of a she-ass by a stallion).

The **Amarna Letters** also document the import of chariots as part of the royal **gift exchange** system. The surviving letters of the archive reveal a total of 31 chariots, each with its pair of horses, which were sent to Egypt as greeting gifts from Babylon and Mitanni. In addition there were several very special chariots, such as the royal chariot outfitted for Assur-uballit of Assyria, which he sent as a greeting gift with its two white horses. Some chariots were sent fully outfitted; others are specified as not outfitted. The lavishness of some of the royal chariot equipment is revealed by the detailed description among the gifts sent by Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III at the time of his marriage to the Mitannian princess, Taduheba. The chariot was gilded using 320 shekels of gold. The equipment included one whip overlaid with five shekels of gold, with *khulalu*-stone mounts.

The letter details other items clearly related to horse trappings, some in leather with lapis lazuli, and gold amounting to 26 shekels, and 4 shekels of silver. There were also necklaces for the horses using 88 stones per string and 44 shekels of gold; a set of bridles with ivory blinkers, and ornaments of gold amounting to 60 shekels; a set of reins overlaid with silver and ornaments of gold totaling 60 shekels; one set of snaffles of silver, 50 shekels in weight; one pair of gloves trimmed with red wool; one leather halter with attachments of *khulalu*-stone inlaid with lapis lazuli and a centerpiece of *khiliba*-stone mounted on lapis lazuli, and with lapis and gold ornaments from the straps. The detail of the amounts of precious metal and stone used was not only a safeguard against theft, but also an important economic feature: corresponding amounts were expected in return. Elsewhere in the letters are references to a leather cuirass set for horses, with rings of bronze, and two helmets of bronze for horses.

Manufacture. It was once assumed that because the spoke lashings of birch bark had been applied while green, the wheels and chariots had been made in countries where the materials were available locally, probably in Armenia, somewhere between the Caspian Sea and Trebizond. However, it is now known that birch bark can be transported and used. Although chariots initially had to be imported and reserves built up through captures, scenes of chariot manufacture make it certain that the surviving examples, and probably the majority of chariots in use, were actually manufactured in Egypt. A scene showing the presentation of “gifts” to **Hatshepsut** in tomb 73 at Thebes shows chariots, along with a wide range of other products of royal workshops. Scenes in the mid-18th Dynasty tombs of Hepu, Puyemre, Qenamun at Thebes show the manufacture of chariots and wheels in the

state (i.e., temple and palace) workshops. A late-18th Dynasty relief in the tomb of Ipuia at **Saqqara** shows a six-spoke wheel being made in a royal or temple workshop, where other artisans are producing statuary, a stela, and stone vessels. The surviving caption above one of the chariots in Theban tomb 72 reads “a great chariot (*wereryt*) of *shendyt*-wood of Kush, decorated with gold.” This presumably means that the chariot was made in the royal workshops from wood from Kush, showing an early adaptation to non-Asiatic supplies. A fragmentary wheel from the tomb of Amenhotep III uses tamarisk wood, an Egyptian native, with imported elm. Amenhotep II brought wood for chariots from Mitanni. It seems, however, that much of Mitanni was unwooded and the materials were being imported from even farther north. The chariot comprised a number of elements that were easily damaged or broken, axle, pole, and spokes, and there is evidence for the transport of extra chariot poles and other elements to allow for repairs in **camp**. The economic tablets from Pylos in Greece record 200 pairs of wheels and wood for 100 axles, suggesting that considerable numbers of spare parts might be retained. A papyrus document of the Ramesside period (pAnastasi I: British Museum EA 10247) notes the visit of an Egyptian charioteer in Canaan to a chariot repair shop in **Joppa**.

CHARIOTEER. Many monuments show charioteers of different ranks. From early in the New Kingdom, the elite were trained in the art of chariotry, and it is possible that some form of national service in the **chariot** corps was expected. Scenes of battle conventionally show the pharaoh alone in his chariot, the reins tied around his waist. In the account of the battle of **Qadesh**, **Ramesses II** specifically states that he had no charioteer with him, although he was accompanied by his shield bearer.

CHARIOT WARFARE. The Egyptian **chariot** was a lightweight vehicle that carried two people, the driver (*ketjen* or *kedjen*) and the warrior (*seneny*). The driver could also act as defender, carrying the shield. Egyptian chariot warriors were **archers** first but also carried weapons for hand-to-hand combat: the **khepesh**, **axe**, and **spear**. The reliefs of the battle of **Qadesh** show the regional differences, in part dictated by terrain. The **Hittites** used a heavier type of chariot, apparently with solid sides, which carried three people. Its axle was placed at the middle of the body. This made it a slower-moving vehicle than the Egyptian chariot. The soldiers it carries are shown with the short stabbing spear, and the Hittites appear to have used their chariots for close combat, charging lines of enemy infantry.

The records of battles indicate very large numbers of chariots being deployed, but whether they were all used at one time remains unclear. **Ramesses II** claims that there were 2,500–3,000 Hittite chariots at the battle of Qadesh.

There has been some dispute over how chariots were deployed in battle.

It was once suggested that chariots were driven to a point, and that then the warrior dismounted and fired. It is certain that the chariot actually functioned as a moving firing platform: numerous reliefs indicate that the archers fired while the chariot was being driven. The construction of the Egyptian chariot allowed a small turning circle, perhaps enabling the chariot to be driven in one charge, arrows loosed, and the chariot swiftly turned for a second return charge. Battle scenes such as those of Qadesh show the two chariot lines charging at each other. Even with chariots arranged in several lines, the numbers reported in some conflicts would have resulted in very long lines, which would have been feasible only on flat plains. As the biblical narrative makes clear, soft sand also hindered chariots because it “clogged their chariot wheels and made them lumber along heavily.”

CHEOPS. *See* KHUFU.

CHEPHREN. *See* KHAFRE.

CHREMONIDEAN WAR (268/267 or 265/264–262/261 BC). Named after Chremonides, a politician in **Athens**, who negotiated an anti-Macedonian alliance. The resulting war beginning in 268/267 or 265/264 and lasting until 262/261 saw the active involvement of **Ptolemy II** in Greece. The Egyptians sent naval forces and established bases with **garrisons** on the mainland, at, for example, Methana in the Peloponnese, which was renamed Arsinoe. With the failure of the war, Chremonides and his brother Glaukon fled to Egypt. Chremonides later commanded the Ptolemaic fleet, which was defeated at the battle of Rhodes in circa 258 BC during the **Second Syrian War**.

CIVIL WAR. The nature of the evidence confines civil wars to the Intermediate Periods, to times of reunification, or the Ptolemaic period (which is better documented). The civil wars of the Ptolemaic period are in many cases **dynastic wars**, although there were also **rebellions** by disaffected groups. All documented civil wars before the Ptolemaic period were power struggles between elite factions: there is no evidence for “popular” uprisings. During the First Intermediate Period different nomarchs in Middle and Upper Egypt were supporting rival dynasts. There was a major civil disturbance in **Thebes** in the reign of **Ramesses XI**. There was opposition to Roman rule immediately after the conquest of the country by **Augustus**, and at later points. This was generally dealt with (not always successfully) by the **prefect**. In most of the instances noted, the opposition to the central authority was localized and is more properly “rebellion” by disaffected groups, rather than civil war involving the whole country and bulk of the population.

CIVILIANS. In all military actions it is the civilians who suffer. A common policy in ancient warfare was to cut down orchards and requisition, or destroy, crops. If not that, the impositions and foraging of armies on the move depleted food supplies. In the Asiatic battle scenes of **Sety I** and **Ramesses II** are the sieges of fortified towns with their occupants burning incense as a sign of surrender. The Egyptian conquest of **Canaan** in the early 18th Dynasty saw massive destruction of settlements, some of which were not reoccupied. Similarly, in **Nubia**, **Kerma** suffered destruction by fire. Following military raids and campaigns, both soldiers and civilians might be captured and taken to Egypt as slaves. The texts of **Ahmoose son of Ebana**, among others, list such captives. The Egyptian authorities also used **deportation** to remove larger groups of civilians, such as the Canaanites who were transported to **Kush**. The kings of **Assyria** also used the policy of deportation extensively.

CLEOPATRA. See KLEOPATRA.

CLERUCHS. A Greek term for veteran soldiers given grants of land and settled in communities. The policy was begun by **Ptolemy I**, who wished to encourage Greek settlement in Egypt. His veterans were mainly of Greek or Macedonian origin, with some Asiatics (from the former Persian army). In the reign of **Ptolemy II**, much of the Fayum was brought under cultivation and cleruchies were established throughout the region. Initially, the land grants were only for the lifetime of the cleruch, but they soon became hereditary in practice, legally formalized by the *philanthropa* of **Ptolemy VIII** (118 BC) following the **civil war**. Following the battle of **Raphia** (217 BC), there were cleruchic grants to Egyptian **machimoi**, many in the Fayum, and in villages already with Greek cleruchs. There is evidence for a similar policy during the pharaonic period, such as the land grants by the pharaoh **Ahmoose** to **Ahmoose son of Ebana** and settlements of Libyan and Asiatic **mercenaries** in the Fayum and Middle Egypt. It is well documented from the Roman period, too.

COELE SYRIA. The name used for the Ptolemaic province of “Syria and Phoenicia” in western Asia. The name comes from the Greek *koile* meaning “hollow.” Coele-Syria was the region behind the coastal plain of Lebanon, including the Beqa Valley, the border being the Eleutheros River. It provided the Ptolemies with a buffer zone against the **Seleukids**, but was the constant source of dispute between the two kingdoms, resulting in the **Syrian Wars**. Who actually owned Coele-Syria was the subject of negotiations in the winter of 219/218 BC during a truce in the Fourth Syrian War. In 301 BC, Seleukos I had been granted the whole of Syria after the battle of Ipsos, but had tacitly accepted **Ptolemy I**’s control of it. The region continued to be disputed in the Fifth and Sixth Syrian Wars and was completely lost to Egypt in the reign of **Ptolemy VI**.

CONSCRIPTION. Evidence from the Old Kingdom shows that levies were made when an **army** was needed. In the Middle Kingdom, one text states that a levy of one man in 100 was taken. Doubtless, the system continued in the New Kingdom, even though there was a larger professional standing army. The Papyrus Harris states that in the reign of **Ramesses III** one man in ten was conscripted: this large number probably reflects specific circumstances. The **literature** describing the benefits of a scribal career in preference to all others make reference to the ways in which a man can be summoned to be a **soldier**. There is no clear evidence for any type of national service, but the records of careers of officials suggests the possibility that, following schooling, they spent some time in the **chariot** corps.

CORNELIUS GALLUS, CAIUS (Prefect of Egypt 30–26 BC). The first Roman **prefect** of Egypt and friend of **Augustus**, appointed in August 30 BC after the capture of **Alexandria**. Shortly afterward was a rebellion in the Thebaid, according to Strabo, against the collectors of taxes. The prefect's victory and subsequent action in **Nubia** are recorded on a trilingual inscription (in Latin, Greek, and Egyptian hieroglyphic) found on the island of Philae near **Aswan**. The rebel towns included Koptos, Keramike (Medamud), Diospolis Megale, and Ophieion (the latter two were regions of **Thebes**). Cornelius Gallus then took the army into Lower Nubia. It is possible that **Meroe** had been taking advantage of the change of power in Egypt. There was a settlement with the Meroite representatives at Philae on the frontier. As a result, a *tyrannos* (local ruler) was installed in the Triakontaschoinos (Lower Nubia), although his identity is uncertain (possibly a Meroitic prince). In 26 BC, Cornelius Gallus was recalled by Augustus. Further developments were in Lower Nubia in the Prefecture of **Petronius**.

CYPRUS. Large island of the eastern Mediterranean close to the coasts of Phoenicia and Asia Minor. It was important in the sea-borne trade of the eastern Mediterranean. The **tribute** of Cyprus is recorded in the **Annals of Thutmose III**. As a trading partner with Egypt, Cyprus appears in the **Amarna Letters** (as Alashia), and **gift exchange** between pharaohs and its king is recorded. It was most important as a source of copper, bronze, and lead, although horses are also listed. Part of the island was seized by the last of the kings of the **Hittites**.

In the early first millennium BC there were new settlements of people from Greece and Phoenicia. The kings of the island paid tribute to the rulers of **Assyria**. In 570/569 BC, Cyprus gave naval aid, and Carian and Ionian soldiers, to help **Wahibre** regain his throne after the usurpation of **Ahmos II**. The island came under Egyptian domination when captured by Ahmos II in 560 BC, providing him with an important naval base close to the Syrian

coast. It submitted to Persia in 545 BC and aided the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BC. Later, Cyprus became a center of conflict between pro- and anti-Persian groups, regularly receiving support and ships from Athens. The Athenian fleet was diverted from Cyprus to aid the rebellion of **Inaros** in 459 BC. During his rebellion against the Persians, Evagoras, king of Salamis, allied himself with **Hakor** (389 BC).

The island came under the rule of Ptolemies in 312 BC and was held by them until it was seized by Rome in the reign of **Ptolemy XII**. It was in a vital strategic position for control of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt, and **garrisons** were installed in many of its cities. Because of this naval importance, the office of governor, the *strategos*, was usually combined with that of *naucharch* (admiral). At several points, members of the Ptolemaic royal family fled to Cyprus or were sent there as rulers when evicted from Egypt in **dynastic wars**. There were some significant naval battles near the island, notably the battle of Salamis in 306 BC, at which the fleet of **Ptolemy I** was defeated by that of **Antigonos Monophthalmos** and his son Demetrios.

CYRENAICA. A region of **Libya**, being the eastern part of the modern state, from the Gulf of Sirte to the Gulf of Bomba. It is largely mountainous, with a narrow coastal plain from which the Jebel Akhdar rises steeply. The barren coast of the Gulf of Sirte, where the Sahara comes to the Mediterranean, made a natural **border** with the nearest power to the west, Carthage. This remained a significant division between Greek east and Latin west under the Roman Empire.

Cyrenaica might have been occupied by some of the Libyan tribal groups who entered Egypt in the later New Kingdom, the **Libu**, the **Meshwesh**, the **Seped**, but archaeological knowledge of this phase is still scanty. Greek colonists from Thera founded **Cyrene** (c. 630 BC), followed by other settlements at Apollonia, Barce, Euhesperides (modern Benghazi), and Taucheira. This was known as the Libyan Pentapolis. In the reign of **Darius I** (522–486 BC), the Persian **satrap** of Egypt sent an army in support of the ruling family of Cyrene, besieging and eventually capturing Barce. The whole of Cyrenaica came under Ptolemaic control in the reign of **Ptolemy I**, the **border** with Egypt being **Paraitonion**.

CYRENE. Greek settlement in **Libya** founded, according to tradition, about 630 BC. It was soon followed by a number of other towns in **Cyrenaica**. Its territory eventually stretched westward from a **border** with Egypt near **Paraitonion**.

Cyrene came under the rule of a dynasty of kings, the Battids, and soon established relations with Egypt. **Wahibre** sent an army against it, which mutinied and set up **Ahmose II** as pharaoh (570 BC). Ahmose himself entered into diplomatic marriage with the royal family, taking Ladike as his

wife. During the reign of **Darius I** (522–486 BC), the Persian **satrap** of Egypt sent an army in support of a member of the ruling family to besiege Barce.

Ambassadors from Cyrene met **Alexander the Great** at Paraitonion (332 BC). Soon after he took over Egypt, **Ptolemy I** was invited by a disaffected group of the elite acting out of self-interest to take over the city and the region, which he did in 322/321 BC. Ptolemy installed a general, Ophellas, as governor. There was a rebellion against Egyptian rule in 313 BC, but Ptolemy sent forces that reinstated Ophellas. By 308 BC, Ophellas was acting on his own behalf, but he made no declaration of independence. Involving himself in the campaign of Agathokles of Syracuse against Carthage, Ophellas was murdered.

Another rebellion took Cyrene out of Ptolemaic control. Ptolemy I was preoccupied with events elsewhere and was unable to regain the territory until after the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC. He then installed his stepson, Magas, as ruler. Sometime early in the reign of **Ptolemy II**, Magas made himself independent and became king, entering into alliance with the **Seleukids** of Syria. Magas even launched an attack on Egypt, marching his army toward **Alexandria**, but it was forced to return by a revolt of Libyans, at Paraitonion. Following the death of Magas, in circa 250 BC, there was a brief internal struggle before Cyrene returned to the Ptolemaic Empire. This was sealed by the marriage of Magas's daughter, Berenike, to **Ptolemy III**. Cyrene was now a possession of the Ptolemies with its own governors and a place to which dispossessed kings fled or were exiled (e.g., **Ptolemy VI**; **Ptolemy VIII** from 163–145 BC; **Ptolemy IX**). In 162 BC, the governor, an Egyptian named Ptolemaios "Sympetesis," rebelled, but the uprising was quickly suppressed. Ptolemy VIII bequeathed it to his son Ptolemy Apion, who in turn left it to the Roman people in his will. Cyrene suffered extensive damage during the **Jewish revolt** of 115–117 AD.

DABENARTI. An island **fortress** in the Second **Cataract** standing opposite **Mirgissa**. The nature of the cataract here made landing difficult, and the fort was perhaps never completed. Alternatively, it might have been a temporary fort, for additional defense of Mirgissa in times of crisis.

DAKHLA OASIS. A large oasis in the Western Desert, connected by **desert** roads to the Oases of Farafra and **Kharga** and directly to the Nile Valley. There are archaeological remains from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period, although the major sites so far excavated belong mainly to these two phases. Although there was an Egyptian governor in the Old Kingdom, the population of Dakhla might have been largely **Libyans**. In the 19th Dynasty, the Libyans who were driven back by the army of **Merenptah** from **Memphis**, appear to have used the desert routes through the northern oases, Dakhla and Kharga, to reach the Nile Valley in Upper Egypt and **Nubia**.

DAPHNAE (TELL DAFANA). A **fortress** on the eastern **border** built by **Psamtik I**, close to **Migdol** and **Pelusion**. The Greek historian Herodotos states that it was built as a defense against the **Arabs** and Syrians and that it was a Persian **garrison** with Greek mercenaries in his time (mid-fifth century BC). The site of Tell Dafana (Tell Defenneh), on the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, was first excavated by W. M. Flinders Petrie, who interpreted the site using the literary evidence of Herodotos and also identified it with the biblical Tahpanhes. It was thereafter considered a typical Late Period fort, and other monuments with similar construction were also designated forts. The lowest level is a massive compartmented wall 450 × 200 meters and 17 meters thick. Inside this wall, the area is filled with cross walls creating a series of cells. This type of construction is found in the “Palace of Apries” at **Memphis** and at **Naukratis**. At Memphis, Barry Kemp proved that the cellular level was used to support a stone pavement. Similarly, the structure at Naukratis is probably the podium of a temple. The archaeological evidence at Tell Dafana included considerable quantities of Greek pottery, but there is no direct evidence of a Greek garrison. The pottery ends about 525 BC, the time of the invasion by Cambyses of Persia.

DAPUR. Town of north **Syria**, in the territory of **Tunip**. It was attacked by **Ramesses II** in his campaign of year 8. The attack is depicted in the reliefs of the Ramesseum, the pharaoh’s temple on the west bank at **Thebes**. Dapur is shown as a typical Syrian fortified city with a central citadel and

other towers. Many of the walls are battlemented. The Egyptians are shown entering using **scaling ladders**. The defenders, many of whom are **Hittites**, use bows and throw missiles at the attackers. A figure, perhaps the ruler, burns incense as a sign of capitulation.

DARIUS I (reigned 522–486 BC). Great King of **Persia** and pharaoh of Egypt. Darius seized the Persian throne when **Cambyses** was in Egypt. This was followed by **rebellions** throughout the empire, perhaps including Egypt. This might have been the point when an Egyptian dynast, Pedubast III, tried to establish himself as pharaoh. Darius completed the **canal** connecting the Nile with the Red Sea that had been begun by **Nekau II**. In **Kharga Oasis**, he erected the small chapel that forms the nucleus of the temple in the **fortress** at **Qasr el-Ghueida** and presumably built the first fortress there. During the reign, the **satrap**, Aryandes, sent an expedition to **Cyrenaica**. In the last year of the reign of Darius there was a rebellion in Egypt, perhaps led by **Psamtik IV**, a Libyan ruler of the western **Delta**. This was suppressed by **Xerxes**.

DAY BOOKS. The **Annals of Thutmose III** refer to a record of the military activities during the siege of **Megiddo**, which was written on a leather roll and preserved in the temple of **Amun** at Karnak. It is clear from the inscribed version of the annals that they have been extracted from a more detailed source, and the leather roll may have been another extracted text. Both would have relied on a daily account detailing all aspects of the campaign, and presumably, the **bureaucracy**: distribution of rations, orders, officers, marches, scouting, booty, etc. The **Semna Dispatches** fall into the category of daily reports, although in the form of letters. The writing of the Day Books (perhaps compiled from numerous bureaucratic documents) was probably the responsibility of the Chief Army Scribes, such as, in the reign of **Thutmose III**, **Tjanuni**.

DEIR (KHARGA). A large and imposing Roman **fort** in the northern part of Kharga Oasis. It dates to the reign of **Diocletian** (284–305 AD). The fort controlled the access to the Oasis by roads from Sohag and Girga, considered the best and shortest route between Kharga and the Nile Valley (160 kilometers). These roads descend the escarpment near a spring of good water, controlled by the fort. Quantities of broken pottery indicate a Roman watering station on the plateau itself, but the water must have been taken from el-Deir. The fort is square, 73 × 73 meters. The walls are mostly of unburned brick, banded with burned red brick. They still stand around 10 meters in height and 3.60 meters thick, with circular towers at each corner and two semicircular towers on each side, and entrances on the north, east, and west sides. The interior of the fort is almost devoid of visible remains, except along the south side of the court, which has a series of brick rooms. The south wall is the best preserved and retains internal staircases leading

to the parapet. At the center of the court was a well, apparently with a conduit to divert the overflow to cultivate the fields surrounding. A small temple of mud brick was later converted into a church. In design and construction the fort has strong similarities with others of the same period at **Babylon**, **Dionysias**, **Tjaru**, and **Aswan**.

DELTA. The Delta was created by the deposit of silt where the Nile left the confines of the limestone cliffs. Throughout much of the dynastic period, large tracts of the northern Delta were marshlands, with large sea lagoons. There were important ancient cities in the Delta, notably **Sau** (Sais) in the west and **Per-Bastet** (Bubastis) in the east. New cities were founded later. Of these, the most significant were the **Hyksos** capital of **Avaris** and close to it the new residence city of the 19th Dynasty pharaohs, **Per-Ramesses** and its port, **Djanet** (Tanis). The Greek trading center of **Naukratis** was built close to Sau in the reign of **Psamtik I**. The principal routes for armies, whether Egyptian leaving the region of **Memphis** or those invading, were those that followed the desert edges of the Delta. On the west, the route ran from Memphis to Kom Abu Billo, Kom el-Hisn, Kom Firin, Kom el Abqa'in, El-Barnugi, Nubariya, perhaps to **Rakote** (later **Alexandria**). In the east, it was protected by the network of **forts** from **Pelusion** to **Tjaru**, then toward the **Wadi Tumilat**, Heliopolis, and **Babylon**.

Most of the documented invasions of Egypt through the Delta were from the east. The kings of **Assyria**, **Esarhaddon** and **Ashurbanipal**, engaged with Egyptian forces between **Tjaru** and Memphis. The Assyrians also campaigned across the Delta to Sau. The king of **Babylon**, **Nebuchadnezzar II**, attempted an invasion in 601 BC, but was driven back. The armies of Persia entered Egypt through Pelusion, in the reign of **Cambyses** (525 BC), defeating **Psamtik III**. During the **rebellion** of **Inaros** (463–454 BC) against Persian rule, there was a battle at **Papremis**, followed by the siege of Inaros and the Athenian force at **Prosopitis**. There was conflict in the Delta when **Nakhthorheb** seized power, and there were further Persian invasions in the reigns of **Artaxerxes II** (373 BC) and **Artaxerxes III** (343 BC). The Macedonian adventurer, **Amyntas**, entered Egypt through Pelusion in 333 BC and was followed by **Alexander the Great** the following year. **Ptolemy I** confronted the army of **Antigonos Monophthalmos** in the eastern Delta in 306 BC, and there was another invasion by **Antiochos IV** of Syria (169/8 BC). The main disturbance in the Roman period was the rebellion of the **Boukoloi** (171 AD). Further invasions from the east came in the later Roman period, firstly the Palmyrene army of **Zenobia**, the Sasanid armies of Persia, and finally, the **Arabs**, led by 'Amr Ibn-al 'asî. The principal invasions of the western Delta were by the **Libyans**. The Delta figures in Hellenistic novels as a place where dissident groups, and brigands, sought refuge.

DEN (reigned c. 2985 BC). Pharaoh of the First Dynasty. An ivory label from Abydos shows Den smiting an Asiatic enemy with a mace, the text refers to “the first time of smiting of the east.” This might be the same as the “smiting of the Troglodytes” recorded on the **Palermo Stone** as the second year of a 14-year cycle of an unnamed ruler. The “Asiatics” could refer to the Eastern Desert, to **Sinai** or to Palestine.

DEPORTATION. The forcible removal of an entire, or a significant proportion, of the population of a conquered town or state to be resettled in another region of an empire. Deportation was frequently used in their campaigns in Babylonia and western Asia by the rulers of **Assyria**, notably **Sennacherib**, **Esarhaddon**, and **Ashurbanipal**. Deportation could serve several purposes: it could remove “disruptive” elements, but more significantly, it could provide labor, particularly skilled labor, in other parts of the empire. The Assyrians certainly removed some groups from Egypt, including members of the reigning Kushite royal family. The use of deportation by the Egyptians is less well documented, but there are references to the **Apiru** being sent from **Canaan** to **Kush** and Canaanites from **Gezer** to **Thebes**. Interpretation of some Egyptian texts is made more difficult by the kingship ideology that claimed the pharaoh’s power could turn the world upside down, thereby removing Asiatics to **Nubia** and **Libyans** to Asia.

DESERT. Egypt is surrounded by desert and the defense of its **borders** on south, west, and east was a response to that. The Western, Libyan, Desert has areas of rocky plateau and sand dunes, with a string of oases running from Bahariya in the north, through Farafra, to **Dakhla**, and **Kharga**. Excavations at Dakhla have found a **fortress** of Old Kingdom date, but the evidence of most of the other forts in Kharga is far later, dating from the Persian to Roman and Byzantine periods. Kharga controlled the desert road from **Nubia** later called the Darb el-Arba’in, the “Forty Days Road.” From Bahariya, a string of smaller oases connected with Siwa.

The Eastern Desert is more mountainous and was a major source of stone and minerals. There is abundant evidence in Upper Egypt for quarrying expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat and use of the routes to the Red Sea ports. There are over 60 small Roman forts in the southern parts of the Eastern Desert, protecting the roads to the principal ports of Myos Hormos (now identified with Quseir el-Qadim, rather than Abu Sha’ar, as earlier scholars thought) and Berenike, and the quarries at Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus. There has been less survey work in the northern parts of the Eastern Desert, but the Via Hadriana, running from Antinoöpolis in Middle Egypt to the Red Sea, must have been protected in a similar way as the southern routes. These small forts provided protected watering places (*hydreumata*) and resting places for the trading caravans, as well as being

bases for policing operations. They also played an important role in the quarrying and mining activities of the region. In southern Upper Egypt and Nubia, Egypt had an ambivalent relationship with the people who lived in the Eastern Desert, the **Madjoy** and later the **Blemmyes**.

Until recently, it was assumed that desert travel was more limited in ancient times, and that very long desert journeys did not become usual until the introduction of the **camel**. Long desert journeys can be made using donkeys, but these require much more **baggage** and water. In the Sixth Dynasty, **Harkhuf** certainly used a desert route, and donkey caravan, to travel to southern Nubia. Recently discovered rock inscriptions in the Theban region attest a desert road of Middle Kingdom date. The desert patrol of **Kamose** captured a **Hyksos** messenger traveling to the ruler of **Kush**. Meroitic texts show that the desert roads between the Fourth **Cataract** and Lower Nubia were being used, and rock inscriptions to the east of **Buhen** attest a desert road of the 18th Dynasty. Desert patrol guards are well attested from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods by papyri from the **Fayum**. Fortresses and **watchtowers** controlled the access to the Nile Valley and the Oases from the desert. In **Kharga Oasis**, the fortress of Dush controlled the desert road between the south of the oasis and Edfu, and **Deir** controlled the road from the north of the oasis to Girga (ancient Tjeny).

DESHASHEH. A cemetery site to the south of Herakleopolis (Ihnasya el-Medina) in northern Middle Egypt. The tomb of Inti of the late Fifth or Sixth Dynasty contains one of the few Old Kingdom scenes of **battle**. It shows an attack on a walled town, apparently occupied by Asiatics. The town is schematic, being the conventional oval cartouche shape used for names of foreign places, with semicircular **bastions** indicated. The attacking Egyptian force is using a wheeled **scaling ladder** to ascend the **walls**, while **sappers** mine the walls with pointed stakes. Inside the town, two men are shown listening for signs of the sappers. Outside the walls, hand-to-hand combat with **axes** takes place. The whole scene has a close parallel in the roughly contemporary tomb of Kaemheset at **Saqqara**.

DIADOCHOI. The successors of **Alexander the Great**. On Alexander's death at Babylon in 323 BC, his generals acknowledged his infant son, Alexander IV, and his half-brother, Philip Arrhidaios, as kings, but partitioned the empire among themselves. At first, the generals assumed the Persian style "**satrap**" as provincial governors. There were numerous political and marriage alliances between the diadochoi, but breaking of political alliance was usually accompanied by divorce, itself leading to dynastic rivalries later. The principal figures in the period from 323 BC to the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC were: Perdikkas, **Antigonos I Monophthalmos**, Antipater, Kassander, Lysimachos, **Ptolemy I**, and

Seleukos I. Ptolemy I seized Egypt, taking Alexander's body with him.

In the First War of the Diadochoi (321/20 BC), Ptolemy I faced an invasion by Perdikkas. The settlement of Triparadeisos Antipatros confirmed Ptolemy's hold on Egypt. In the Second War (319–315 BC), Ptolemy annexed **Coele Syria**, which he lost in the Third War (314–311 BC), although he acquired **Cyprus**. The main threat to Ptolemy I's control of Egypt came from Antigonos I Monophthalmos and his son Demetrios. Ptolemy and Seleukos I jointly defeated Demetrios at the battle of **Gaza** in 312 BC. Another peace was agreed in 311 BC, but Antigonos and Demetrios attempted another invasion of Egypt in 306 BC, which Ptolemy was able to resist. Following the lead of Antigonos the generals now began to assume royal titles, Ptolemy being crowned in 304 BC. Coele Syria was regained by Ptolemy in the Fourth War of the Diadochoi (303–301 BC), which culminated in the battle of Ipsos (301 BC). Ptolemy was not present at the battle, and in the peace treaty that followed all of Syria was granted to Seleukos, but for personal reasons, he accepted Ptolemy's rule over Coele Syria; this was to lead to the constant friction between Ptolemies and **Seleukids** in the **Syrian Wars**.

DIOCLETIAN (reigned 284–305 AD). Roman emperor. In Egypt, the reign of Diocletian is marked by the **rebellion** of Domitius Domitianus and Aurelius Achilleus (297 AD), involving a long siege of **Alexandria**. Diocletian was present in person. He then extensively reorganized the administration of Egypt. Diocletian was responsible for important changes on the southern frontier in Lower **Nubia**, where the **Blemmyes** had been a persistent problem, although **Aurelian** had gained some victories over them. The frontier was now removed from Maharraqa to **Aswan**, where a **fortress** was built at the head of the First **Cataract**. A number of other fortresses can be attributed to the reign of Diocletian: the rebuilding of **Babylon**, **Dionysias**, **Tjaru**, and **el-Deir** in **Kharga Oasis**. The fort at Abu Sha'ar on the Red Sea coast of the Eastern **Desert** is now known to date from this period.

DIONYSIAS. Fortress at the far western end of the **Fayum**, the modern site of Qasr Qarun. Built in the third century AD, perhaps about 260 AD, although often assigned to the reign of **Diocletian**. The fortress is brick-built, measuring 94.4 meters × 80 meters, with square towers at each corner and in the middle of the west side, and semicircular towers on the south and east sides. Semicircular towers also flanked the main gate on the north side. This gate opened onto a colonnaded street leading to a building with an apsidal end. There were single cells lining the north, east, and west walls.

DIPLOMATIC MARRIAGE. This was often used to seal a **peace treaty**. It is best documented in Egypt in the later 18th and early 19th Dynasties by the **Amarna Letters** and the Marriage Stela of **Ramesses II**. The Amarna

Letters show that there were elaborate protocols to be observed. At this time the pharaoh claimed never to send his daughters to marry foreign rulers, as a way of emphasizing his position as the first among equals of the Great Kings. It was also necessary to write several times, before a daughter of a ruler would be granted. The letters also reveal that, like peace treaties, the death of a ruler required a new marriage to be contracted between allies. So when Shuttarna II of **Mitanni** died, negotiations were opened for the marriage of **Amenhotep III** with her niece, the daughter of the new king, Tushratta.

The **Hittites** adopted a different policy to Egypt and sent daughters on the condition that the princess became principal wife and queen, and that the son of the marriage would become king, thereby extending Hittite power. The unusual request of Ankhesenamun for a Hittite prince to become her husband, on the death of **Tutankhamun**, was greeted with disbelief by the Hittite king. Some factions at the Egyptian court also opposed it, as the prince was murdered on his way to Egypt, an action that led to the reopening of hostilities between the two powers. **Ramesses II** eventually sealed his peace treaty with the Hittites by marriage.

There is evidence for similar dynastic marriages later. In the Third Intermediate Period, the Libyan and Kushite pharaohs established alliances with other ruling families and the elite. **Ahmosé II** married Ladike of **Cyrene**, and another Greek marriage is attested for the 30th Dynasty, although the lady's origins are unknown. The numerous alliances of the Ptolemies, **Seleukids**, and others of **Alexander the Great's** successors (*diadochoi*) usually resulted in **civil war** and **dynastic war**.

DIVISION (ARMY). The largest unit of the army, comprising 5,000+ men. There were, by the time of **Ramesses II**, four divisions, named after the state triad of Egypt, **Amun**, **Ptah**, and **Re** with an additional one named after **Seth**.

DJAHY. Territory of western Asia that occurs frequently in records of the 18th Dynasty. It is north of **Retenu** and perhaps to be identified with the coast of Lebanon, including important centers such as Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Sumur. It was the focus of Egyptian military activity and as such appears in the autobiographical inscription of **Ahmosé-pen-Nekhet** and the **Annals of Thutmose III**. **Ramesses III** states that he made his frontier against the “**Sea Peoples**” in Djahy, although here the use is possibly archaic.

DJEDHOR (reigned 361–360 BC). Pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty, son of **Nakhtnebef**. The name is also found in literature as Teos, or Tachos, from its Greek form, and Djeho. Djedhor wanted to take advantage of **rebellions** against the king of **Persia**, **Artaxerxes II**, and prepared a campaign into

Palestine. In addition to the Egyptian force, he had a large army of Greek **mercenaries**, commanded by **Agesilaos II**, king of **Sparta**, and a fleet from **Athens**, commanded by Chabrias. Djedhor imposed heavy taxes to pay for this army. They made some successes in Palestine, and Djedhor wished to advance farther into **Syria**. This led to a disagreement with Agesilaos, who then supported the rebellion of Djedhor's nephew, Nekhthorheb. Djedhor fled to Persia and died in exile.

DJER (reigned c. 3050 BC). Pharaoh of the First Dynasty. A rock inscription at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman in **Nubia** has generally been understood as a record of military activities by Djer. The archaeological evidence for the end of the Nubian "A-Group" culture has been reassessed in recent years and seems to indicate that the powerful Nubian kingdom based upon Qustul came to a sudden end around the time of Djer.

DODEKASCHOINOS. Greek term for Lower **Nubia** from the Egyptian **border** at the First **Cataract** as far as **Maharraqa** (*Hiera Sykaminos*). It might, under a different name, have become an administrative district attached to Upper Egypt as early as the 21st or 26th Dynasty. There is evidence from the fortress of **Dorginarti** that the Persian kings were defending parts of Lower Nubia. The term *dodekaschoinos* is first found in the Ptolemaic period. The district was extended to become the Triakontaschoinos but, following disputes with **Meroe**, reduced again. Although largely occupied by Nubians and Meroite settlers, it remained under the control of Roman Egypt until the reign of **Diocletian**, when, because of problems with the **Blemmyes**, the frontier was redrawn at the First Cataract. A network of **watchtowers** extended from Lower Nubia, via **Aswan**, to Edfu and across the Eastern Desert.

DORGINARTI. Island **fortress** in the Second **Cataract** near **Mirgissa**, **Dabenarti**, and **Meinarti**. Originally thought to date to the Middle Kingdom or later New Kingdom, a reassessment of the archaeological material by Lisa Heidorn indicates it is of the 26th Dynasty-Persian period. The fort, roughly triangular in shape, was approximately 80 meters by 50 meters. Its walls, up to 8.0 meters thick, were surrounded by a glacis and protected by buttresses. It is difficult to place the fortress into its historical context. **Psamtik II** launched a military attack on the heart of the Kushite kingdom in 593 BC, and the Persian king **Cambyses** is reputed to have campaigned in Lower **Nubia**. There is also evidence for trading relations between Egypt and **Kush**. It is possible that Dorginarti had both an economic and defensive role in the sixth-fifth centuries BC.

DRILL. The evidence of various papyri (notably the Anastasi papyri) claims that ordinary conscript troops were beaten into shape, whereas that for the elite corps details athletic and skilled training in weapons. The Anastasi

papyri and similar documents are prejudiced sources in that they emphasize the benefits of being a member of the elite and the hardships of lower ranks. Nevertheless, there was doubtless coercion and brutality in the training of recruits.

The inscription on the Sphinx Stela of **Amenhotep II**, from Giza, details his skill as a prince and epitomizes the military **ethos** of the elite of this period. The few detailed records of schooling for officials in the New Kingdom shows that from perhaps the age of four or five, they learned scribal skills, but then from the age of about eight they went to the “stables.” Here, scribal skills would have been continued, alongside the techniques of horsemanship and **chariotry**, and archery. Amenhotep II also refers to rowing and running. The scenes show soldiers engaged in drill exercises in the tomb of **Tjanuni** at Thebes and Ipuia at **Saqqara**.

DYNASTIC WARS. As most of the surviving Egyptian “historical” documents were written by the victors, there is, hardly surprisingly, little indication of opposition. The *Story of Sinuhe* and the *Instruction of Amenemhat I* both indicate that **Amenemhat I** was murdered in some sort of palace conspiracy. The clearest evidence for later dynastic turmoil is the conflict on the death of **Merenptah** between the appointed Crown Prince **Sety II**, and **Amenmesse**, who appears to have been a member of the royal family (possibly Sety II’s own son). The “Harem conspiracy” against **Ramesses III**, which might have been partly successful, suggests that there was perhaps more private opposition to rulers than open **rebellion**. Although it is dangerous to generalize based on such limited evidence, the small, closed, and powerful elite, the palace environment and analogies with other similar societies, such as **Assyria**, makes it highly likely that there was considerably more dynastic strife than we have documented evidence for. The elite doubtless formed factions promoting the interests of different groups, notably when it came to the choice of royal wives.

Palace-based conspiracy was a feature of the Ptolemaic period: notably with the murder of **Ptolemy IV**. The strife between **Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II** and **Kleopatra II** led to a full-scale **civil war** with military action throughout the country, itself allowing an Egyptian rebel pharaoh, **Harsiesis**, to be proclaimed in **Thebes**. This prolonged turmoil had disastrous effects on the agricultural economy of the country, with land granted to **cleruchs** being left uncultivated. The feud between **Kleopatra III** and her son **Ptolemy IX Soter II**, whom she deposed, led to the **Syrian War** of 103–101 BC, which overlapped with a **Seleukid** dynastic war involving her daughters, who were married to the rival Syrian rulers. There was further dynastic conflict between **Ptolemy XI**, **Alexander II**, and Kleopatra Berenike III, and between **Kleopatra VII** and her brothers and sisters.

EKWESH. One of the ethnic groups listed in the inscription of **Merneptah** as allied with the **Libyans**, and often listed by historians as one of the “**Sea Peoples**,” although in this case clearly a mercenary force. The name *Ekwesh* was equated by some earlier scholars with the “Achaean” and hence placed around Troy. However, Ahhiyawa, a western neighbor of the **Hittite** Empire, is currently thought to equate with the “Achaean” (i.e., Mycenaean of mainland Greece and Ionia). The Ekwesh are probably to be located on the western coast of Anatolia, perhaps including some of the islands that had Mycenaean settlement.

ELEPHANT. The use of elephants in warfare was introduced to Ptolemaic Egypt from India through the **Seleukid** kingdom of **Syria**. Elephants had first been encountered by the army of **Alexander the Great** in the battle against Poros at the River Hydaspes (Jhelum). The Seleukid kings received elephants from the far eastern parts of their empire, and the Ptolemies tried to emulate them, bringing elephants from Eastern Africa. These were transported from Ptolemais of the elephant hunts, along the Red Sea. There is also evidence for the hunting of elephants in the Sudanese kingdom of **Meroe**. **Ptolemy IV** deployed elephants at the battle of **Raphia** (217 BC). There has been controversy over which type of elephant was available to the Ptolemies, and it is now generally accepted, on the descriptions of ancient writers, that it was the smaller forest, rather than the bush, elephant. The use of elephants in war spread among the Hellenistic armies, and to Carthage, where Hannibal famously used them in his march on Rome.

ELEPHANTINE. *See* ABU.

ELTEKEH. Battle in 701 BC between the Egyptian-Kushite and Assyrian armies. It is documented by the Annals of **Sennacherib** and the biblical record of 2 Kings 20. Eltekeh (Assyrian: Altaqu) is probably to be identified with Tell esh-Shallaf, 15 kilometers south of **Joppa**. The Assyrian army was marching south toward Ekron, having captured Joppa, when they encountered the Egyptian army sent by **Shabako** advancing from **Gaza**. The biblical record states that **Taharqa** led the Egyptian army, although he was not reigning as pharaoh and was probably too young to have participated. The Egyptians were defeated and withdrew to Gaza to recoup. The battle was one engagement during the campaign of Sennacherib against **Judah**, which also included the sieges of Lachish and **Jerusalem**.

ENVOYS. In the New Kingdom, the royal envoys were an important element

in the diplomatic service, maintaining contact between the pharaoh and his officials, such as the **viceroy of Kush**. Numerous inscriptions document their tours. They also conveyed the letters and **gift exchange** between Egypt and the western Asiatic rulers documented by the **Amarna Letters**.

ESARHADDON (reigned 680–669 BC). Assyrian emperor who invaded Egypt in the reign of the Kushite pharaoh **Taharqo**, who had been supporting anti-Assyrian rulers in western Asia. In 679 BC, Esarhaddon marched to the **Brook-of-Egypt** and captured its ruler, taking him to Assyria. In 677 BC, the army captured Sidon and reasserted Assyrian control along the coast. In 674 BC, the annalistic text known as the *Babylonian Chronicle* reports the defeat of the Assyrian army in Egypt. This is not reported in the other sources. It seems that the Assyrians spent 672 BC in making preparations for the Egyptian campaign. There are oracle requests to the god Shamash about the likely outcome. Two stelae from Til Barsip (in Aleppo Museum) and one from Zenjirli (in Berlin, Pergamon-Museum) record the campaign. The army headed for **Gaza**, then pushed on to **Raphia**, where there was a battle. The Egyptian-Kushite army was forced back, and three battles over 15 days are reported. The last, on 11 July 671 BC, was outside **Memphis**. The city was captured and Taharqo fled. There was a **deportation** of the Kushite elite from the city to Assyria. Esarhaddon's control of Egypt was short-lived: the Libyan dynasts quickly changed sides and Taharqo returned. Esarhaddon launched a new campaign, but died en route, in Palestine.

ETHOS. The changes in military technology in the early New Kingdom, with the introduction of the **horse** and **chariot**, and the composite **bow**, resulted in a new image of the pharaoh as a chariot warrior and sportsman. In earlier scholarly literature, this was associated with the idea of the **mariyannu** as a warrior aristocracy, a view now discredited.

The considerable skills required to become proficient in chariotry radically changed elite education. This resulted in a new ethos reflected most clearly in the text of the Sphinx Stela of **Amenhotep II**. This narrates the prince's great abilities as a rower and particularly as an archer shooting from a chariot. He is said to have shot through four targets of copper placed about 10 meters apart. This incident is also depicted on a relief block. During these activities, the pharaoh or prince was under the guidance and protection of **Monthu** and the Asiatic deities, **Reshep**, **Astarte**, and **Anath**. A similar scene depicting the pharaoh Ay of the late 18th Dynasty occurs on a piece of gold foil from chariotry equipment.

FARAS. Site in **Nubia** to the north of the Second **Cataract**. The earliest large structure is a **fortress** of the 12th Dynasty, probably of the reign of **Senusret I**. It is perhaps that named Khesef Medjau in the Ramesseum Papyri. In the reign of **Tutankhamun**, in the late 18th Dynasty, Faras was the principal administrative center of the **viceroys** with a walled town (but not, apparently, fortress). After a long period with no or little occupation, it became a major town and administrative center of the Meroitic period and later the seat of a Christian bishop.

FAYUM. Large oasis to the west of the Nile and connected to it by the Bahr Yusuf. In the earlier periods, the lake (Lake Qarun or Lake Fayum) occupied much of the basin, but this gradually reduced in size and the land was reclaimed for cultivation, most notably in the early Ptolemaic period. The principal town was Shedyt, known in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods as Krokodilopolis (after its patron crocodile god, Sobek), and Arsinoe. There is evidence for land grants to **mercenary** troops in the southern Fayum and adjacent part of the Nile Valley. The place names, Per-Baalat, Shasu and Pen-shasu, Per-Khaset, Kharu and Na-kharu, and the theophoric personal names Reshpu, Baal-her-khepeshef, Baal-Monthu, and Meher-Seth, all indicate the presence of Asiatics. There were many grants of land in the Fayum to veterans. In the Ptolemaic period, these were distinguished as **cleruchs** and **machimoi**.

The Fayum presented a considerable **desert** frontier, and there is evidence from the Ptolemaic period of desert patrols operating from some of its southern towns. A defensive **wall** has been identified between the Nile Valley and the Fayum at Rikka. At the western end of Lake Fayum was the Roman fortress at **Dionysias** (Qasr Qarun).

FIRMUS (c. 272 AD). According to the notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta*, Firmus was a rich merchant in **Alexandria**, who was proclaimed emperor, but defeated by **Aurelian**. This brief incident was generally accepted by historians, but has been challenged by Alan Bowman. There are records of some trouble in Alexandria at this time, but not a full revolt. The name of Firmus given to the usurper by the *Historia Augusta* might be through confusion with an official named Claudius Firmus, named in papyrus documents.

FLIES. The gold fly was given as a military decoration and **reward**, presumably because the insect's persistence symbolized a soldier's valor. Flies are specified as rewards in the inscription of **Ahmosepen-Nekhbet**.

FOOD. The prejudiced record of scribal didactic **literature** (such as the Anastasi Papyri) implies that soldiers' rations were meager and unpleasant. They claim that the grain ration was not fit for grinding, and that water was available only every third day, and then it was smelly and salty. Other papyrus texts say that the soldier was obliged to carry his food and water. As products of elite schools, these literary sources emphasize the advantages of being a member of the elite and the harshness of life for others.

On a long **march** into Asia, rations could have been supplemented by forage, and there is evidence that the **army** divisions were spread so as to allow the following divisions a share. After the siege and capture of **Megiddo**, the **Annals of Thutmose III** accounts the number of sacks of wheat taken from the harvest of the town's fields, specifically excepting that which had been cut as forage. A scene in the tomb of **Tjanuni**, an army scribe of the time of **Thutmose IV**, shows cattle being herded for consumption by troops. The inscriptions of **Thutmose I** suggest that the troops in the fortress of **Sai** in southern **Nubia** were grazing their cattle in the better territory of the Kushite "enemy." Excavations in the **fortress** at **Uronarti** found wooden ration tokens for loaves of bread, showing a highly organized distribution of supplies by the **bureaucracy**. From the evidence, it appears that the daily basic ration of a soldier in the Middle Kingdom was 10 loaves of bread. A quarrying text of the 20th Dynasty records the bread ration, supplemented by three jars of beer, two portions of meat, and three cakes.

There are inscriptions recording the sinking and clearing of wells in **desert** locations for use of quarrying expeditions, and doubtless wells associated with fortresses were carefully maintained. The scene in the temple of Karnak showing the **fortifications** of the **Ways of Horus** includes seven wells. They are depicted as small lakes.

FORTIFICATIONS. Egypt had many fortifications, of which **fortresses** were only a part. Not all fortifications were military, although they had the potential to be. Fortification served as defense in times of internal strife but was also protection against the annual inundation of the Nile. Fortifications primarily protected elite/ceremonial centers and centers of wealth. Fortifications of various types were used as protection of the **borders** and other vulnerable parts of the country. They might consist of a single fortress or chain of fortresses, networks of **watchtowers**, **walls**, and **canals**. Although it is correct to say that Egypt had natural defenses against invasion by foreign armies, in the form of the **cataracts** (in the south), and the difficult access along the Via Maris or **Ways of Horus** and the **desert**, the Nile Valley was actually open all of its length to the incursions of smaller groups of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. There were numerous vulnerable points at the ends of wadis and desert roads, many of which

doubtless had small watchtowers. There is evidence from different periods of military officials whose function was to observe and control those entering and leaving the Nile Valley. There were Ptolemaic and Roman desert patrols from the towns of the **Fayum**.

Several hieroglyphic signs represent walled enclosures and settlements. A circle divided into four segments by two crossed lines is the word for “town” (*niut*). More formal rectangular enclosures with a second rectangle in one corner represent religious and royal precincts (*hūt*). There is archaeological evidence for enclosing walls around some Pre- and Early-Dynastic settlements such as **Abu** and el-Kab (**Nekheh**). At Abu (Elephantine), the circular enclosure had a wavy wall. Some settlements of the New Kingdom in Nubia also had enclosure walls (e.g., Aksha, Sesebi, Amara West), as did all of the principal temple and palace complexes in Egypt. There has been too little archaeological work in the major cities, such as **Thebes** or **Memphis**, to show whether they had large city-walls, but there are references to the walls of the cities of Thebes and **Sau**, and the early city of Memphis was called *Inbu-hedj*, meaning the “White Walls” or “White Fort.” Certainly, settlements within the flood plain needed protection from the waters of the inundation, if not for military defense. However, settlement would doubtless have spread outside of the protective walls. Massive mud-brick walls do survive surrounding many temple enclosures, such as Karnak and **Medinet Habu**, and in palatial complexes, such as the palace of Apries at Memphis and the royal palace in the northern part of the city of Akhetaten (Amarna). The elite houses at Amarna also had enclosure walls—probably because they were used for the storage of large quantities of foodstuffs.

There are Egyptian words for different types of fortified structures and in the later periods Greek and Aramaic words, some of which were equated with the earlier Egyptian. One word for a “fortress” was *resit*, which originally might have meant “watchtower” or “guardhouse,” deriving from the verb “to watch.” Its meaning was extended and can be found in Ptolemaic texts equating with the Greek word *polis*, a town. *Resit* also equates to the Aramaic word *byrta*, in documents relating to **Aswan**. The word *tjesmet* was perhaps originally a crenellated parapet, but came to mean a rampart. Its use related to military structures and the walls surrounding temple enclosures. The word *khetem* (from the verb “to seal”) was generally used for fortresses (such as **Tjaru**); *menenu* is also used. The words *nakhtu*, a “stronghold” (from *nakht* “strong”), and *bekhen* (also used for the pylon towers at the entrance to temples) are also found and presumably had specific meaning. The Semitic term for a tower, **migdol**, was adopted into the Egyptian language and is found referring to a number of Ramesside fortresses. Greek words that appear in documents of Ptolemaic date are *Phulake*, a watchtower, and *hypaithron*, a military camp. Unfortunately, it can be difficult to determine precisely what some of

these terms mean.

FORTRESS, ARCHAEOLOGY. Well-preserved **fortresses** of Middle and New Kingdom date survived in **Nubia** until the building of the High Dam at Aswan (begun in 1960). These fortresses, mostly surrounding the Second **Cataract**, have been excavated and recorded. They fall into a number of different categories. There were large supply depots at the foot of the cataract (e.g., **Buhen** and **Mirgissa**), whereas smaller garrisons on islands and the west bank controlled passage through the cataract (**Semna** and **Kumma**) or acted as signaling stations (e.g., **Shalfak**, **Uronarti**). One fort, **Askut**, seems to have served as a protected island grain supply.

Fortresses in other parts of Egypt have only more recently been examined and are predominantly of the later periods. The earliest fortress-type structures in Egypt are at Abydos, the **Shunet el-Zebib**, and the town walls of **Abu** and **Nekhen**. An Old Kingdom fort has been excavated at Ain Asil in **Dakhla Oasis**. The wall connecting **Aswan** and the First Cataract, perhaps to be identified with **Senmut**, is contemporary with the Nubian fortresses. The fortress at **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham** and the enclosure walls and **Migdol** gateway of **Medinet Habu** are the best-preserved examples of the New Kingdom in Egypt, although many of the Nubian fortresses were restored and altered. Ramesside defenses in the eastern Delta have been identified at Deir el-Balah and Haruvit. A **migdol** is known at Jebel Abu-Hassa between Suez and the Bitter Lakes. The troubled Third Intermediate Period saw construction of fortresses in Egypt, notably at el-Hiba (**Teudjoi**), which marked the northern limit of the territory of **Thebes**. A massive enclosure wall around the town of **Nekheb** (el-Kab) could also belong to this period.

A number of large mud-brick structures of the Saite period were identified as forts because they shared a massive cellular construction. Flinders Petrie identified one at Tell Dafana, which he thought was the fortress described by Herodotos as **Daphnae**. Similar construction was found in the Palace of Apries at **Memphis** and at **Naukratis**. Re-examination of these sites indicates that they are not necessarily military, and that the cellular construction was to support stone floors. Certain Late Period forts are known at Tell Qedwa and **Dorginarti**, **Migdol (Tell el Heir)**, and **Pelusion**. The fort at **Qasr el-Ghueida** in **Kharga Oasis** is probably of Persian date in origin, although the existing structure could be largely Roman in date.

Roman forts in Egypt received relatively little archaeological attention until quite recently. There are many well-preserved large forts of third-fourth century date, some certainly of the reign of **Diocletian**. In addition, there are smaller watchtowers. These are scattered over the Eastern Desert protecting routes to the Red Sea and the quarries at Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus. There are forts in Kharga Oasis at ed-**Deir**, el-**Qasr**, el-

Gib, el-Someira, and Qasr el-Ghueida. In the **Fayum**, the most important fortress was at **Dionysias**. Persian in origin, but largely Roman as it survives; the fortress of **Babylon** protected the access to **Memphis** from the **Delta** and **Wadi Tumilat**. In Thebes, the Roman fortress surrounded the temple of Luxor. The most important Roman fort was Nikopolis 3.5 kilometers east of **Alexandria**, but nothing of it survives.

FORTRESS, ARCHITECTURE. The Old Kingdom fortress at Ain Asil in **Dakhla Oasis** was a mud-brick enclosure with circular corner bastions (only that at the southwest corner was preserved) and semicircular bastions along the **walls**. The entrance was in the center of the north wall and was protected by projecting walls. It appears to have been regularly planned. The Middle Kingdom fortresses in **Nubia** have many features in common, doubtless because they were designed, if not by one architect, then as a single defensive system. They all have massive walls of sun-dried mud brick, strengthened internally with timbers and matting and lined externally with bastions and towers. The evidence of models and depictions suggests that walls were crenellated. Loopholes allowed **archers** to protect the walls from attack. Access to the main walls of the fort was impeded by a **berm** and deep, wide, dry ditch. The main entrances to the fortress were through gateways of similar design, usually comprising three gates and two baffle courtyards. The fortresses conformed to the lie of the land on which they were built. In the cataract region, this could be an island or prominence, resulting in triangular or irregularly shaped forts with long spur walls as added protection. Irrespective of the overall plan, the internal arrangements were regular, with a main street and buildings in rectangular (sometimes truncated) blocks. The larger depots, such as **Mirgissa** and **Buhen**, built on flatter ground, clearly represent the ideal regular type.

No large fortresses of the New Kingdom survive complete and unaltered, except for **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham**, still under excavation. The Ramesside forts at Deir el-Balah and Haruvit in the eastern Delta are both square with corner towers. Haruvit, the larger of the forts, might have had additional buttresses along the walls. Deir el-Balah had a reservoir. Evidence from the garrison towns of the Egyptian Empire in western Asia includes the small square **migdol** towers, identified at Tell Mor. Other sites have larger palatial buildings associated with the Egyptian governor: Tell el-Far'ah south, Tell esh-Shari'a, Aphek, **Megiddo**, and **Beth Shean**.

The fortresses of Roman date conform to the Roman style. This usually has a gate at the center of the walls, with colonnaded streets leading to the centrally placed headquarters (*principia*). Barracks occupy half of the area, with the commander's residence and storage magazines occupying much of the remainder. There may be additional extramural buildings. Many of the late, larger forts, have semicircular bastions along the walls and circular corner towers.

FORTRESS, FORT. A military structure enclosed on all sides with **fortifications**, towers, **bastions**, fortified gates, ditches, **glacis**, etc.

FORTRESS, IN DEPICTIONS AND TEXTS. The slate palettes and ceremonial mace heads of the Predynastic Period depict enclosures of roughly square form with rounded corners and bastions at regular intervals and also circular enclosures with triangular salients. Such enclosures are shown being attacked and destroyed by the heraldic signs of the kings.

There is rather little evidence surviving from the Old Kingdom. Some Egyptologists attributed some of the earliest building levels in the Nubian fortresses to the Old Kingdom, but these are now generally assigned to the reign of **Menthuhotep II** or **Amenemhat I**. There are scenes of attacks on fortified towns in the tomb of Inti at **Deshasheh** and Kaemheset at **Saqqara**.

The troubles of the First Intermediate Period may have led to an increase in fortification: there is certainly more evidence from this period. Khety III, ruler of **Herakleopolis**, encouraged his son to build fortresses and towns. Tomb paintings of the late First Intermediate Period at Beni Hasan show fortified settlements being attacked. Here, the vertical walls have a battered base. **Amenemhat I** built some sort of defensive network on the eastern border called the **Walls of the Ruler**.

The earliest major examples of fortress architecture to have survived were the fortresses constructed by the Middle Kingdom pharaohs in **Nubia**, particularly the region of the Second **Cataract**. Farther south in Nubia, there was an enclosure wall around the elite center of the Kushite city of **Kerma**. There are no depictions of these fortresses, but they occur in administrative documents, such as the **Semna** Despatches.

The pharaohs of the New Kingdom restored the fortresses of Nubia, but none are depicted in **battle scenes** or tombs of **viceroy**s. A small guard tower is depicted in the tomb of Mahu at Amarna, perhaps protecting the access to the area of the city in the north or south. The war scenes of the Ramesside period show many more fortified structures in Egypt and western Asia. A scene of a military expedition of **Sety I** shows the fortification protecting the eastern border around **Tjaru**, which includes small forts with a crocodile-filled **canal**. Ramesside texts also refer to this chain of forts along the **Ways of Horus**. A similar chain of small forts is thought to have existed along the western edge of the **Delta** and the Mediterranean coast as far as **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham**. The reliefs depicting the wars of **Ramesses III** against the **Libyans** show the pursuit of the Libyan army past two Egyptian frontier fortresses. The scenes of battle with the **Sea Peoples** include a fortress called "**Migdol** of Ramesses-Ruler-of-Iunu." In most instances, depictions of Egyptian fortresses are highly schematic, often being little more than a battlemented rectangle with a doorway. It is the accompanying name rather than a detailed representation

that identifies the fortress.

There are no depictions of fortresses in the Libyan period. The campaigns in Egypt of the Kushite king **Piye** are documented by his Victory Stela, but the corresponding reliefs in the temple at Gebel Barkal are almost entirely destroyed. The text of the Victory Stela refers to the prolonged **siege** of the city of **Khmunu** (Hermopolis) in Middle Egypt, with sieges of other towns and forts, including **Memphis**, and to the attack on cities with **scaling ladders**. From the later 25th Dynasty, the Assyrian texts refer to the attack on Memphis and to the city walls of **Sau**, Djanet (Tanis), and another Delta city. A scene from Nineveh depicts an Egyptian fortified town being attacked by the Assyrian army, who had a considerable array of siege towers and engines.

Although forts were built in the eastern Delta in the 26th Dynasty and Persian period, and at Dorginarti in Nubia and Kharga Oasis in the Persian period, there are no more reliefs or paintings showing them.

FORTRESS NAMES. All Egyptian **fortresses** had names. These usually include that of the founding, or reigning, pharaoh or the enemy, sometimes combined. Of the 12th Dynasty forts in **Nubia**, **Semna** was Sekhem-Khakaure “Kha-kau-re (**Senusret III**) is powerful”; **Kumma** “Warding off the Bows”; and Semna South “Who repels the Setiu-Nubians.” In the 18th Dynasty, **Thutmose III**’s garrison fortress in Lebanon was called “Menkheperre is the Binder of the Barbarians.” The “**Migdol** of Menmaetre” (**Sety I**) is depicted in the pharaoh’s **battle scenes** at Karnak. A similar fortress of **Merenptah** was called “Migdol of Sety-Merenptah (who is) beloved like **Seth**.” A fortress of **Ramesses III** called “Migdol of Ramesses-Ruler-of-Iunu” is depicted in the scene of battle with the **Sea Peoples**. A fort shown in the scene of the **Libyan Wars** is called “Castle in the Sand.” In some of these cases, the fortresses might be the same, but renamed for the reigning pharaoh. The fort founded by Osorkon I near **Herakleopolis** was more simply Per-Sekhem-kheper-re “the house of Sekhem-kheper-re” (which was the throne name of Osorkon I), a designation more typical of temples.

GABINIANS. The Gabinians were a force of Roman legionaries led by the proconsul of **Syria**, Aulus Gabinus, who in 55 BC, at the wish of Cnaeus Pompey, reinstated **Ptolemy XII** (Auletes). The expedition set out from Syria and marched through Palestine toward Egypt. Marcus **Antonius** was a general of the **cavalry** and seized the **garrison** in **Pelusion**. The Roman force approached **Alexandria** where it engaged the Egyptian army, commanded by Archelaos, the husband of the reigning **queen** Berenike IV (daughter of Ptolemy XII). Gabinus and Antonius led on two fronts and after a second, naval, battle on the Nile, Ptolemy was able to regain his kingdom. The Gabinians were left in Alexandria, and were deployed on several occasions against the population. They were prominent on the Egyptian side against **Iulius Caesar** and **Kleopatra VII** in the **Alexandrian War**.

GARRISON. The troops stationed within a **fortress**. There were presumably garrisons in strategic towns and access points, key storage centers, and royal residences from the earliest times. There is, unfortunately, little early documentary evidence. According to some of the school texts that extol the benefits of the elite contrasted with less fortunate members of society, the garrison soldier's "clothing is skins and his food the grass of the field, like any cattle." Not surprisingly, therefore, being stationed in garrisons, particularly those in foreign parts or on **borders**, was greatly disliked and a cause of interminable **boredom**. There is evidence that in some fortresses permanent garrisons were installed with the soldiers and their families (perhaps living in extramural settlement). This was certainly the case with the Persian garrison on **Abu** and the Ptolemaic garrison at **Pathyris**.

Pharaonic: Egypt. Small garrison forts seem to have been located at many points within Egypt. They might have controlled the nome boundaries. There is evidence for them on the outer approaches to major cities. The "northern" and "southern" fortresses of **Memphis**, for example, were some distance from the city itself, controlling access. The "Place-beloved-of-Thoth" might be a similar small garrison in **Thebes**. The earliest known Egyptian fortresses outside of the Nile Valley are the Early Dynastic site of En Besor in southern Palestine, which might have served as a defended supply station for caravans, and the Old Kingdom fort at Ain Asil in **Dakhla Oasis**. There is good evidence for the Persian garrison on **Abu** in the fifth century BC. The soldiers were mainly **Jews** and other western Asiatics.

Pharaonic: Empire. Permanent garrisons were placed in the fortresses of Lower **Nubia** from the 12th Dynasty and in the more southerly ones (**Sai**

and **Napata**) from early in the 18th Dynasty. With Egyptian expansion into western Asia garrisons were established just as they were in Nubia. There is evidence from documentary sources, notably the **Amarna Letters**, and archaeology. Following the siege and capture of the city by **Ahmose I**, **Sharuh** became a garrison, although it was replaced in importance by **Gaza**. Other coastal towns farther north in Phoenicia had garrisons and were points to which longer range expeditions would sail before marching inland. Ullaza was later replaced by **Sumur**, and there might have been garrisons in the old trading partners of Byblos and Tyre. **Joppa** was a center for grain storage and organization of the corvée and in the 19th Dynasty used as a **chariot** depot. Inland garrisons seem to have been much fewer: **Jerusalem** in the late 18th Dynasty controlled the grain producing regions; **Megiddo** controlled the north-south routes, and **Beth Shean** was in a strategic position in the Jezreel Valley and could control the crossing of the Jordan and way to Damascus. Other towns with garrisons were probably Kumidi, Yarimuta, and perhaps Ugarit on the coast. Archaeological evidence from the 19th and 20th Dynasties suggesting the presence of garrisons comes from Tell Mor, Tell el-Far'ah south, Tell esh Shari'ah, Aphek, Ashdod, Beth-shemesh, Lachish, Megiddo, Beth Shean, and Tell es-Saidiyeh.

Ptolemaic: Egypt. There is evidence for garrisons established in the towns of Upper Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. Following the **rebellions** of **Haronnophris** and **Chaonnophris**, they were placed in **Krokodilopolis** and Pathyris. After the **civil war** between **Ptolemy VIII** and **Kleopatra II**, there were garrisons in the Memnoneia district of **Thebes** and in Hermonthis. That in Thebes was at **Medinet Habu**.

Ptolemaic: Empire. There were garrisons in all of the numerous overseas possessions of the Ptolemies. Because the troops and their commanders were generally **mercenaries** and many of Greek or Macedonian origin, defection in times of crisis was common. The first Ptolemaic garrison was placed in **Cyrene** in 322/321 BC, soon followed by garrisons in **Cyprus** and Coele Syria. Samos, although a naval base, does not appear to have had a garrison. In Caria and Pamphylia, there was a long Ptolemaic presence, and in Cilicia a number of coastal strongholds were garrisoned from the time of **Ptolemy III**. On Crete, there was a garrison in Itanos for much of the Ptolemaic period. During the **Chremonidean War**, Thera received a garrison, including a contingent from Pamphylia: its soldiers are particularly well documented. One of the principal functions of this garrison was defense against pirates. Also established at the time of the Chremonidean War were the bases on mainland Greece: Methana in the Peloponnese was renamed Arsinoe; Sikyon and Korinth were garrisoned from 308–303 BC. In the north Aegean, there were garrisons at Ainos and Maroneia in Thrace from the time of Ptolemy III. Ephesos was under Ptolemaic control from the reign of **Ptolemy II** until 259 BC. It was

recaptured by Ptolemy III in 246 BC and received a large garrison, being held until 197 BC.

Roman. Garrisons were established at key points by **Augustus**, notably at **Alexandria** (the **fort** of Nikopolis), **Babylon**, and **Aswan**. As in earlier times, the Roman garrisons were stationed in key population centers, strategic points within nomes, and on the river or **desert** edges. The total provincial garrison was probably between 20,000 and 30,000, with no one nome having more than 1,000–1,500 men. This has been estimated at 0.5–0.8 percent of the total population (assuming 4.2 million persons). Some garrisons were stationed for an extended period while others had only short visits. The **Notitia Dignitatum** details the places where units were stationed in the later fourth century AD. The Roman garrisons differed from the earlier periods most obviously in that they were largely drawn from outside Egypt. In the **Fayum**, there was a major base at **Dionysias**. A cohort was stationed at Narmouthis on the edge of the desert in the southern part of Fayum. This had been withdrawn by 346 AD. A cavalry detachment (*cataphract*) was stationed in the nome capital at Arsinoe. There was a garrison at Oxyrhynchos in the reign of **Diocletian**. Lykopolis in Middle Egypt had a garrison comprising at least part of the Sixth Legion in 354 AD.

GAULS. Term used for Celtic peoples of central Europe who moved southward, both west and east, eventually causing serious problems to the Hellenistic kingdoms. One incursion sacked Rome in 390 BC. There were major invasions of Macedonia and northern Greece (279 BC) and of Asia Minor (278 BC), where they settled in what became Galatia. **Ptolemy II** and his successors used Gauls, Celts, and Galatians as mercenary troops.

GAZA. An important city in southern Palestine, lying at the east end of the **Ways of Horus** and, consequently, in a significant strategic position. It was called *Kedje(t)* in Egyptian. With **Ahmose I**'s campaigns in Canaan in pursuit of the **Hyksos**, **Sharuhen** was made an Egyptian **garrison**, but by the time of **Thutmose III** it was replaced by Gaza, which remained a staging and frontier post. Gaza was captured by the kings of **Assyria** in the westward marches toward Egypt. At that time, an Egyptian vassal ruled the town. The Egyptians soon regained it and used it as a base before and after the battle of **Eltekeh** (701 BC). It remained a significant strategic center and continued to play an important role in the Ptolemaic period, notably during the Wars of the **Diadochoi** and the later **Syrian Wars**.

“GEBEL EL-ARAK KNIFE.” The “Gebel el-Arak Knife” is a Predynastic (Naqada II) dagger from Upper Egypt. A silex blade is fitted to a carved handle of hippopotamus ivory. The handle is decorated in relief with scenes of conflict and taking of captives. Two distinct groups are involved, one with hair and one with shaved heads. Boats of Egyptian and Mesopotamian types are shown, some carry standards. The other side has a scene of

animals and a human figure between two lions. This has close similarities with Mesopotamian art. The decoration has similarities with other Predynastic art from Upper Egypt, such as the Painted Tomb 100 at **Nekhen**. The piece, acquired by the Louvre Museum in 1914, was considered to support the idea of a “Dynastic Race,” which came from Mesopotamia and conquered Egypt. The scene has more recently been suggested to depict conflict between Egyptians and Nubians or **Libyans**. Some authorities have cast doubt upon the authenticity of the piece.

GEBELEIN. Site in Upper Egypt, south of **Thebes**. Its ancient name was Per-Hathor. A large number of stelae found here record a colony of Nubian **mercenary** troops of the First Intermediate Period. The other body of evidence for military settlement here is of Ptolemaic date, when it was known as **Pathyris**.

EL-GHARBANIYAT. Coastal site to the west of **Alexandria** and 30 kilometers east of **Alamein**. Monuments at the site suggest that it was perhaps the location of a fort in the chain that **Ramesses II** built as a defense against the **Libyans**.

EL-GIB. A small **fortress** or **watchtower** of late Roman date, in the northern part of **Kharga Oasis**. About 15 meters × 16.50 meters with walls 2.5 meters thick, the walls still stand about 15 meters high. The fortress was originally of three stories, the lowest a series of vaulted rooms with a central courtyard above, and had round corner towers (now collapsed). Along with the nearby and very similar tower of el **Someira**, it controlled the road, which led to the northern entry/exit to the Oasis through the passes of Ramlia and Yabsa.

GIFT EXCHANGE. Royal gift exchange is well documented for the late 18th Dynasty (Late Bronze Age of Near East) by the **Amarna Letters**. The scenes of foreign **tribute** also relate to gift exchange. In return for valuable raw materials, most notably gold but also ivory and ebony, Egypt received timber, lapis lazuli, copper, and other materials. Prestige gifts were sent with the exchange of letters, on royal festivals and at the time of royal marriage. Notable among these “greeting gifts” were **chariots** and **horses**, military equipment, and **weapons** See ARMS TRADE.

GLACIS. Slope leading up to walls of a **fortress** that exposes attackers to fire from the defenses.

GRIFFON (*akhekh*). Mythical creature with a lion’s body and eagle’s head. The crested griffon, similar to that found in Minoan art, first appears on the axe of **Ahmoese I** from the burial of Queen Ahhotep, where it is described as “beloved of **Monthu**” and represents the pharaoh as a manifestation of

that god. The eagle, however, does not figure prominently in Egyptian art and the later New Kingdom representations, which are common, are correctly hieraco-sphinxes, having a falcon head on a lion's body. Following Egyptian convention, these usually have the long tripartite wig (missing on the axe of Ahmose I).

At the battle of **Qadesh**, **Ramesses II** hunted his enemies "like a griffon" and "slaughtered them unceasingly." **Ramesses III** was "a griffon who is wide of step, a possessor of wings who sees leagues of millions as (mere) strides," "his war cry is heard like that of a griffon," and "his voice was bellowing and roaring like (that of) a griffon."

HAGAR EL-MERWA. Large rocky outcrop close to the point where the desert road from Lower **Nubia** regains the Nile between the Fourth and Fifth **Cataracts** with inscriptions of **Thutmose I** and **Thutmose III**. These define Egypt's southern **border** along the desert roads and in relation to the gold-mining region of **Ikayta**. Both pharaohs left parallel inscriptions at the river Euphrates in **Naharin**. There is also a cartouche of **Ramesses II** and a damaged text referring to the land of **Miu**.

HAKOR (ACHORIS) (reigned 393–380 BC). Pharaoh of the 29th Dynasty. His reign seems to have been interrupted by that of Pshenmut. The main military actions of the reign were against **Persia**. In 389 BC, Hakor established an anti-Persian alliance with Evagoras ruler of Salamis in **Cyprus**. The **rebellion** of Evagoras had begun in circa 391 BC with successes that had extended his rule onto the Asiatic mainland in Cilicia and Phoenicia. A late source refers to an alliance between Hakor and the Pisidians (in southern Asia Minor), which would, if it has any veracity, be linked with the activities of Evagoras. **Athens** sent a fleet of 10 ships to the aid of Evagoras in 387 BC, but the Persian peace treaty of 387/386 BC severely limited Greek involvement. Around 385 BC, Persia moved to regain control of Cyprus and this involved an attack on Egypt. There appear to have been Egyptian actions in Phoenicia at this time in response to the Persian aggression. A major Persian attack on Evagoras was launched in 382 BC, but Hakor continued to lend practical support until the end of his reign, including, in 381, 50 ships (some modern accounts call them **triremes**). Although defeated, Evagoras was left in power on favorable terms. A new anti-Persian alliance was formed between Egypt, **Sparta**, and a rebel governor, **Glos**. Hakor hired the Athenian general Chabrias to command a force of Greek **mercenaries**, but the Persian commander Pharnabazos ordered his recall to Athens. The death of Hakor was followed by the brief reign of his son, Nefaarud II, who was deposed before the end of the year by **Nakhtnebef**.

HARKHUF (fl. c. 2280 BC). Official of the Sixth Dynasty who served the pharaohs Nemtyemsaf I and **Pepy II**. The inscriptions carved on the facade of his tomb at **Aswan** are an important source of information on the trading expeditions of the Egyptians into southern **Nubia** and the political changes taking place in Nubia at that time. Although the texts do not describe direct conflicts between Egypt and its neighbors, they relate that the ruler of the Kushite kingdom of Yam had gone to “smite the **Libyans**,” and that he supplied an armed escort (perhaps mercenary troops going to serve in

Egypt) for the homeward journey through Lower Nubia. The narratives of the four expeditions also chart the unification of three chiefdoms in Lower Nubia, **Wawat**, Irtjet, and Satju, into a single, larger, kingdom.

HARONNOPHRIS (HAR-WEN-NOFER) (reigned 205–199 BC). Rebel pharaoh in the reigns of **Ptolemy IV** and **Ptolemy V**. There has, in the past, been confusion over the reading of the name of this ruler, Hurgonaphor and Harmachis, appearing in earlier literature. The correct reading is now recognized as Haronnophris (in its Greek form), from the Egyptian Harwennofer. The chronology and detail of the **rebellion** has been clarified in recent years. The rebellion was based in Upper Egypt and apparently had some support from the priesthood of **Thebes**. At Edfu, work on the construction of the temple ceased between 207/206 and 176 BC. The rebellion broke out in 205/204 BC, at the very end of the reign of Ptolemy IV (or perhaps at the announcement of his death). It must have gained rapid support, as the Greek soldiers left Thebes and went to **Abu** (Elephantine). Haronnophris controlled the region from Abydos (including the administrative center of Ptolemais and Koptos) to **Pathyris**. The presumed death of Haronnophris took place in his sixth regnal year, after July/August 199 BC. It is now clear that the regnal years begun by Haronnophris were continued by his successor **Chaonnophris** (Ankh-wen-nofer). Following the rebellion, military camps were established at **Krokodilopolis** and Pathyris.

HARSIESIS (fl. 131 BC). Theban rebel pharaoh under **Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II**. Harsiesis seized power in **Thebes** during the time of the **civil war (dynastic war)** between Euergetes II and his sister **Kleopatra II**. Until July 131 BC, Thebes was under the control of Euergetes II, but by October the same year, either Kleopatra II or Harsiesis held it. By 10 November 131 BC, Euergetes II had regained control of the city, and Harsiesis had been expelled, fleeing north. Two demotic papyri from Karara in Middle Egypt record him. Between 13 November 131 BC and January 130 BC, Thebes was held by Kleopatra II. Nothing further is known of the **rebellion**.

HARSIYOTEF (reigned c. 380 BC). Kushite king of **Meroe**. Harsiyotef reigned for at least 35 years, but it is difficult to place him precisely. A number of factors suggest he reigned in the first half of the fourth century BC. Harsiyotef left a large stela with a long text written in Egyptian hieroglyphics, in the temple of **Amun** at Gebel Barkal (**Napata**) now in the Nubia Museum, Aswan. The inscription records military actions led or sent by Harsiyotef in his regnal years 3, 5, 6, 11, 16, and 35. The campaigns of year 3, 5, and 6 were against the Meded who occur in other Meroitic texts as nomadic peoples of the Eastern Desert. In year 11, the army marched into Lower **Nubia** and attacked Aqna, perhaps to be identified with **Mirgissa**. It then advanced on **Aswan**, where there was some sort of battle

with another army led by Braga and Sa-amani-sa. In year 16, the army went against Mekhuf, an otherwise unidentified region. In years 18 and 23, the Rehrehsa, apparently a nomadic group, who are named in other Kushite texts, attacked Meroe itself. In year 35, the army went against the desert lands of Mekhty. How any of these events, particularly those in Lower Nubia and Aswan, relate to events in Egypt in the 30th Dynasty is, at present, impossible to know.

HAR-WEN-NOFER. *See* HARONNOPHRIS.

HATHOR. Goddess, with many aspects. Hathor was the daughter of the sun god **Re**. In her violent manifestation (as the “Eye of Re”), she is identified with the lioness-headed goddesses, **Tefnut** and **Sakhmet**. This form was also later associated with the warlike Asiatic goddesses **Astarte** and **Anath** when they were introduced into the Egyptian pantheon. Hathor is associated with foreign lands from the earliest times, particularly the mining regions of Serabit el-Khadim in the **Sinai** and later at Timna. The Egyptians equated Hathor with foreign goddesses and as such, she became the image of “the Lady of Byblos.”

HATSHEPSUT (reigned c. 1472–1458 BC). Regnant **queen**, and therefore, correctly, a pharaoh. Daughter of **Thutmose I**, she was the Great Royal Wife of **Thutmose II** and acted as regent in the earliest years of **Thutmose III** before assuming full pharaonic style. During the coreign with Thutmose III, there were perhaps as many as four campaigns in **Nubia**. The first, shortly after her assumption of the kingship, was probably led by Hatshepsut in person. The others, toward the close of her reign, appear to have been commanded by Thutmose III. One of these reached **Miu**. A major trading expedition was sent along the Red Sea to the land of **Punt**, in the Ethiopian highland. The reliefs recording this show a significant role played by contingents of the **army**. There is no direct evidence for any Asiatic campaigns during this period, and the military activities of Thutmose III’s sole reign were directed to that region.

HATTUSILI III (reigned c. 1264–1239 BC). Great King of the **Hittites**. As a local ruler in the reigns of his brother **Muwatalli** and nephew Urhi-teshub (Mursili III), Hattusili fought campaigns in the northern part of Asia Minor, regaining considerable territory. He then deposed his nephew and ascended the throne. **Ramesses II** considered lending his support to the exiled Urhi-Teshub, but he eventually signed a **peace treaty** with Hattusili in 1258 BC, sealed by **diplomatic marriage**. Both the Hittite and Egyptian versions of this are preserved. The peace was no doubt in response to the increasing power of **Assyria**, following the fall of **Mitanni**.

HELMET. Egyptian troops are rarely depicted wearing helmets, although for

mercenaries and foreigners they are frequently an identifying feature. Helmets are, however, depicted in various scenes showing the manufacture of military equipment and also as part of the “foreign tribute” presented to the pharaoh. Helmets also occur in some of the **Amarna Letters** as part of the **arms trade**. The pharaoh’s **khepresh** or “Blue Crown” is often called a war helmet in the **literature**, and although it may be worn in **battle scenes**, it is not the only crown to appear in those. Indeed, pharaohs are often shown in battle wearing the double ostrich plumes and ram’s horns, which should alert us to the nonfactual aspects of the scenes. There are depictions of Egyptians wearing helmets in the battle reliefs of **Ramesses III** at **Medinet Habu**. In the scene of distribution of weapons, there are helmets the same shape as the lappeted wig, and in the scene of the storming of Dapur, archers in long coats wear the more typical conical helmets. In several scenes, the pharaoh’s charioteer is shown with a conical helmet over his lappeted wig. A similar type of helmet, made of faience, was worn by the mummy of Hor-Psamtik (now New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

The Hittites wore a pointed, conical helmet; the **Shardana** a rather flatter one with horns and a spike and ball (or disk) on top, and sometimes with cheek guards. The **Peleset** (Philistines) are shown with a feathered or horsehair crest. A papyrus apparently depicting Mycenaean troops seems to show the famous boar’s tusk helmet.

HERAKLEOPOLIS. The Greek name for the Egyptian town of *Nennesu*, the modern Ihnasya el-Medina in Middle Egypt. It stands at a strategic point near the entrance to the **Fayum**. It must always have been an important center, but only fragments of its history are so far known. It was the seat of the rulers of Dynasties 9–10, the last of whom was overthrown by **Menthuhotep II** in his wars of reunification. Herakleopolis might have been attacked or besieged during these actions. In the later 20th Dynasty, **Libyans** were settled in the region, and the city came to prominence again during the Third Intermediate Period. Osorkon I founded a **fortress**, Per-Sekhemkheperre, near the city, probably to its north. In the late Libyan period, when Lower and Middle Egypt was divided between four Libyan pharaohs with the Kushite king, **Piye**, controlling **Thebes** and much of Upper Egypt, Herakleopolis was the capital of a kingdom. Its ruler, Peftjauawybast, acknowledged Piye’s suzerainty, and when the coalition led by **Tefnakht** marched south, he refused to yield the town. Herakleopolis endured a lengthy siege, but was relieved by Piye’s army as it marched north to **Memphis**.

HERMOPOLIS. *See* KHMUNU.

HIERAKONPOLIS. *See* NEKHEN.

HITTITES. The kingdom of Hatti in central Anatolia, with its capital at Hattusa (Bogazköy), became one of the great powers of the Late Bronze Age and Egypt's major opponent for control of north Syria in the later 18th and 19th Dynasties. Hittite history is divided into "Old Kingdom" c. 1650–1500 BC, "Middle Kingdom" circa 1500–1430/1420 BC, and "Empire" 1430/20–1200 BC. The direct contacts and conflicts with Egypt came under the "Empire," and the dates for the Hittite Great Kings of this period are achieved largely through synchronisms with the Egyptian and other western Asiatic powers (notably **Mitanni** and **Babylon**). The first conflict came in the reign of **Akhenaten** when **Suppiluliuma I** detached Egypt's north Syrian vassal, Amurru, and there is some evidence that the Egyptians came into conflict with the Hittites in the succeeding reigns. A chapel at Karnak of the reign of **Tutankhamun** carried a scene of an Asiatic battle, and in the contemporary tomb of **Horemheb** at **Saqqara**, Asiatics (including Hittites) are depicted as **tribute** bearers. Following the death of Tutankhamun, his widow Ankhesenamun sought a Hittite prince as her husband. This was against the policy operated by Egypt in **diplomatic marriage** and was apparently opposed by some court factions because the prince was murdered *en route* to Egypt. The campaigns of **Sety I** and **Ramesses II** brought Egypt into direct military conflict with the Hittites. Sety I attempted to regain control of **Qadesh** (year 5 or 6) and succeeded in capturing the city, but it soon returned to the Hittite control.

When Ramesses II ascended the throne, the Egyptians controlled **Canaan** with much of the Phoenician coast and the Beqa Valley. In the campaign of year 4, Ramesses attacked Amurru, which once again became an Egyptian vassal. In retaliation, the Hittite king, **Muwatalli** (reigned 1295–1271), moved to recapture Amurru. He assembled an army from Hatti and 16 provinces and allies, totaling 2,500 **chariots** and 37,000 men. As Ramesses had set his eyes on Qadesh, conflict was inevitable. Despite the claims in his numerous inscriptions celebrating the battle of Qadesh, Ramesses achieved no significant gains. Although Ramesses II brought his armies into north Syria again, in years 8–10, his later campaigns were directed much farther south.

Shortly after the battle of Qadesh, the king of **Assyria**, Adad-nerari I, attacked Hanigalbat, the remaining fragment of the old kingdom of Mitanni, and conquered it. He then wrote to the Hittite king seeking alliance and expecting to be treated on an equal level as a Great King; Muwatalli spurned him. On the death of Muwatalli (c. year 8/10 of Ramesses II), he was succeeded by his son Mursili II, but Mursili was soon deposed and replaced by his uncle, **Hattusili III**. With a new king in Assyria (Shalmaneser I), the king of Hanigalbat moved to renew his alliance with Hatti and to shake off the Assyrian yoke. Inevitably, Assyria attacked, and Hanigalbat was absorbed, leaving Assyria directly bordering the Hittite empire, with no intervening buffer state.

A **peace treaty** was finally concluded between Ramesses II and the Hittites, and is recorded by two tablets in Babylonian cuneiform found at Hattusa (Bogazköy) and a stela at Karnak. It was signed in year 21, 1st month of winter, day 21. Also found at Bogazköy were 26 letters from Ramesses to the Hittite king and 13 to Pudukhepa, the queen. Ramesses II's chief wife, Nefertari (Naptera), wrote to Pudukhepa and the Hittite king, as did the Queen Mother, Mut-Tuya, and the Crown Prince, Seth-hirkhepeshef (Shoutakhapshap). The Hittite crisis ended in year 34 when Ramesses married the daughter of Hattusili. The Marriage Stela survives in versions at Karnak, Elephantine, Abu Simbel, and Amara.

The end of the Hittite empire is obscure. The last Great Kings gained control of part of **Cyprus** but suffered from the attacks of the Assyrians on their eastern borders. Hattusa itself was destroyed in a massive conflagration, and it was once conventional to ascribe the end of the Hittite empire to the invasions of the **Sea Peoples** and other groups. The fragmentation of the Hittite Empire is paralleled by the collapse of other great powers at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Smaller kingdoms replaced them, and there were "Neo-Hittite" states in Anatolia and north Syria, notably at **Carchemish** and Tarhuntassa, some ruled by scions or viceroys of the royal house.

HOR-AHA (reigned c. 3080 BC). Pharaoh of the First Dynasty. A wooden label from Abydos apparently shows a bound captive and a rectangular fortified structure, although the opponent is not specified.

HOREMHEB (reigned c. 1323/1312–1295 BC). Last pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty. Horemheb's origins are obscure, and he does not claim to be directly related to the royal family. He first appears in the reign of **Tutankhamun** as one of the most important officials in Egypt, therefore his career must have begun in the reign of **Akhenaten**. His tomb at **Saqqara**, decorated in the reign of Tutankhamun, accredits him with some 90 titles and their variants, many of them military. Horemheb was certainly responsible for the military activities in Asia and **Nubia** that are known from Tutankhamun's reign, and he might have led some of them in person. Scenes in his tomb at Saqqara show Horemheb introducing defeated Asiatic rulers and their tribute bearers into the presence of Tutankhamun. These include **Hittites** bringing teams of **horses**. There are also scenes of the army setting up **camp**. After the short reign of Tutankhamun's successor, Ay, Horemheb himself ascended the throne as pharaoh. There are rather few records from the reign, which might have lasted as long as 28 years (although some Egyptologists favor a shorter reign of around 10 years). The reigns of Horemheb and his successors, **Ramesses I** and **Sety I** are often seen as the culmination of the rise of the military in the 18th Dynasty.

HOREMHEB (fl. c. 1410–1380 BC). Military official buried at **Thebes** (TT

78) who also left rock inscriptions at Konosso and Sehel in the region of **Aswan** and the First **Cataract**. Horemheb was a royal scribe, scribe of Recruits, and general in the reigns of **Amenhotep II**, **Thutmose IV**, and **Amenhotep III**. The paintings, similar in content and style to those of his elder contemporary, **Tjanuni**, show the Asiatic **tribute**, including large quantities of weapons and ranks of **horses**. Squadrons of troops, some Nubian, are shown, with trumpeters and a double-ended drum. One scene shows the enrolling of recruits in the army.

HORSE. The **Hyksos** are generally accredited with introducing the horse into Egypt, along with the **chariot**, in the mid-second millennium BC. Both horse and chariot rapidly became a significant factor in the warfare of the Late Bronze Age. The skills required for both meant that they were controlled by an elite, known throughout the Near East and Egypt as **mariyannu**. The main sources of horses were north **Syria**. The horses of this period were small and not widely used as **cavalry**; this might have been because of difficulties caused by the lack of saddles. Occasionally, riders are depicted, but they are assumed to have been scouts and messengers rather than **soldiers**. The tomb of the future pharaoh **Horemheb** at **Saqqara** does show armed riders. Capture following **battle** played an important role in the early acquisition of horses by the Egyptians. After **Megiddo**, **Thutmose III** seized 2,041 horses.

The trade in horses soon became very important. The **Amarna Letters** refer to horses sent to Egypt from many kings of western Asia as part of the **gift exchange** that accompanied royal letters. One gift of a chariot was specified as drawn by white horses. Horses appear in the scenes of foreign **tribute** from Syria, where **Mitanni** was one of the principal suppliers. The **Hittites** bring horses in the Saqqara tomb of the general, later pharaoh, **Horemheb**. In the period following the end of the New Kingdom, **Israel** under Solomon seems to have gained control of the trade in horses. There is some evidence that horses were bred in **Kush** and were exported to **Assyria**. Larger breeds of horses were available to the Assyrians, probably from the Iranian highlands, and Urartu, and this led to an increased use of **cavalry** during the eighth and seventh centuries BC. The satrap of Armenia sent 20,000 horses per year to the Great King of Persia.

Because the Egyptians used stallions rather than geldings, check rowels were attached to the reins to distract quarrelsome teams. These were wooden rods with a central spiked disk of copper.

HORUS. The god most closely associated with the kingship, generally depicted with a falcon's head. Horus was the avenger of his murdered father, restorer of divine order, and therefore warlike by nature. Horus was also a deity presiding over foreign lands and became assimilated with some local deities. So, in **Nubia**, he was the presiding deity of the Middle

Kingdom fortresses of **Buhen**, Miam (**Aniba**), and Kubban. A later form was “Horus Lord of Foreign Lands.” In this guise, he was an image of the all-conquering divine pharaoh and associated with **Monthu**.

HOST (ARMY). Division of the **army** comprising two companies each of five platoons (500 men).

HYKSOS. A Greek term derived from the Egyptian *Heka-Khasut* “Ruler of Foreign Lands,” the Hyksos (known as the “shepherd kings” in earlier literature) ruled from the city of **Avaris** in the eastern Delta. Their control over Egypt extended as far as the border with the Upper Egyptian kingdom ruled from the **Thebes**. Objects carrying the name of the Hyksos pharaoh **Khyan** have been found in Crete and Mesopotamia. On this evidence, early Egyptologists proposed a vast “Hyksos empire”: this is now regarded as fallacious. However, excavations at Tell el-Daba have found Minoan-style paintings, which are indicative of cross Mediterranean contacts in the late 17th–early 18th Dynasties.

The Hyksos kings maintained a diplomatic correspondence and extensive trading partnership with the kingdom of **Kush**, which undoubtedly formed the basis of their wealth. There are indications that the African trade from Kush bypassed the Theban kingdom and went through the Delta. It might have been to regain control of this trade that the Thebans began to expand. The evidence suggests a largely peaceful coexistence of the Hyksos in the north of Egypt and principedom of Thebes, until the later 17th Dynasty when Seqenenre **Tao** and **Kamose** began to expand their power.

Kamose launched a major offensive, attacking Avaris itself: he might have been killed in battle. There was then a lull in the conflict, probably because of the youth of Kamose’s successor, **Ahmose I**. Ahmose took Avaris and drove the Hyksos from Egypt. The vilification of the Hyksos in the historiographic record began in the reign of **Hatshepsut** (in an inscription at Speos Artemidos).

HYPATHRON. A Greek term for a “military camp” that is found in documents of the Ptolemaic period written in Egyptian demotic script (as *hapitres*). It was used specifically at a military center at **Krokodilopolis** in Upper Egypt, which was under the authority of the (epi)strategos of the Thebaid. A subdivision of the hypathron of Krokodilopolis was at **Pathyris**.

IKAYTA (IKAYTJA). Nubian territory, probably in the gold-mining regions of the southern part of the Eastern Desert, the Wadis Allaqi and Cabgaba. It was the focus of the military action of **Akhenaten**, which ended with the capture of 145 live Nubians and 361 cattle. The dead numbered 80, some killed in battle, some executed by impalement.

INAROS (fl. 463–454 BC). Ruler of Marea in the western **Delta** who lead a **rebellion** against the Persian pharaoh **Artaxerxes I**. He was probably son of **Psamtik IV**, who rebelled against **Xerxes**. The name is the Greek form of the Egyptian Iretenhorru. Inaros allied himself with **Amyrtaios (1)** the ruler of **Sau** (Sais). Inaros appealed to **Athens** for help (c. 460 BC) and an Athenian fleet was diverted from **Cyprus** (459 BC). This appears to have sailed along one of the **Delta** branches of the river, probably the Canopic, to **Memphis**. The city itself was captured, but the White Castle Fortress was held by the Persians and loyal Egyptians. A battle was fought at **Papremis** in the Delta, where the **satrap** Achaimenes was killed. Before invading Egypt, the Persians tried to instigate a war in Greece itself, by encouraging **Sparta** to invade Attika. The Persian army was sent to Egypt under the command of Megabxyus, satrap of **Syria** (perhaps in 456 BC). Memphis was recaptured and Inaros and his Greek support blockaded at **Pro-sopitis** in the Delta. The siege lasted for 18 months, ending with the complete destruction of the 200 Athenian vessels. A few Greeks managed to escape and made their way back to Athens via **Cyrene**. An Athenian relief expedition of 50 ships was destroyed by the new satrap of Egypt in the Mendesian Branch of the Delta (454 BC). Inaros himself was captured and crucified, but the Persians installed his son Thannyras in his place. The rebellion itself seems to have been confined to the Delta, and evidence from Upper Egypt suggests that it remained loyal.

INFANTRY. The bulk of the Egyptian **army** was, at all times, infantry (*menfat* or *menfyf*). In the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the army was entirely infantry. They came in contingents armed with self-**bows** or with **spears**, and with **axes** for hand-to-hand combat. With the introduction of **horses** and **chariots** from western Asia at the beginning of the New Kingdom, an elite chariotry corps was formed. The chariotry played a significant role in the battles of the New Kingdom, but the infantry retained their importance coming into play after the initial confrontation of the chariotry. The army of the Old Kingdom was mainly levies, with some **mercenaries** (often **Nubian archers**). The army of the later New Kingdom had large contingents of mercenary infantrymen: **Libyans**, **Shekelesh**, **Peleset**, and

Shardana. These brought their own types of weapons and **armor**.

IREM. Kushite kingdom, perhaps located in the Dongola Reach of the Nile around **Kerma**, or, as more recently advocated, much farther south, in the Bayuda Desert or the Berber-Shendi Reach of the river. Irem is documented from the 18th to 20th Dynasties as a significant power and potential threat to the security of southern **Nubia**. Campaigns were sent against Irem in the reigns of **Sety I**, **Ramesses II**, and **Ramesses III**. *See also* KUSH.

IRON. The earliest surviving iron weapon from Egypt is the dagger from the tomb of **Tutankhamun**, but an almost identical item is described in the **Amarna Letters** as a gift from Tushratta of **Mitanni** to **Amenhotep III**. The same letter includes some other iron weapons: a mace, arrowheads, and spearheads. Iron did not become common until the first millennium BC. The ascendancy of the Late Assyrian Empire has often been attributed to the use of iron weapons, but might have been as much because of superior military organization and training. A group of iron tools and weapons was found by Flinders Petrie at **Thebes**—in association with what appears to be an Assyrian helmet—and was attributed by him to the Assyrian sack of the city in 663 BC.

ISHKHUPRI (671 BC). Site of a **battle** between the invading armies of **Esarhaddon**, king of **Assyria**, and the Egyptian-Kushite forces under **Taharqo**. It is recorded only in the Assyrian records, where its location appears to be somewhere in the Eastern **Delta** or on the **Ways of Horus**. It might perhaps be identified with a place on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, near Faqus.

ISIDOROS. Priest, leader of the **rebellion** of the **Boukoloi** (also known as the “Bucolic War”) during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (c. 172 AD). Isidoros supposedly gave the flesh of a Roman centurion to his followers. The rebellion eventually spread to cover the greater part of the country and lasted for several years. During it, Roman troops were defeated and **Alexandria** nearly fell. The governor of **Syria**, Caius Avidius Cassius, brought troops to crush the rebellion but was unable to engage in battle. He did, however, manage to bring the rebellion to an end.

ISRAEL. Kingdom of western Asia at first under the rule of Saul, David, and Solomon, united with **Judah**, but following the schism, ruled from the new capital of Samaria. The only reference to Israel in Egyptian texts is in the “**Israel Stela**” of **Merenptah**, actually a record of that pharaoh’s repulse of a **Libyan** invasion. Under Solomon, Israel was important in the trade in **horses**. The kingdom came to an end when Samaria fell to **Assyria** in the reign of Shalmaneser V or **Sargon II** (722/721 BC).

“ISRAEL STELA” OF MERENPTAH. Monumental stela (now in Cairo Museum 34025) originally carved for **Amenhotep III**, but later removed to the temple of **Merenptah**, where its verso was inscribed with a text recounting the defeat of an invasion of Egypt by a large force of **Libyans**. A second stela set up in the temple of Karnak carries a duplicate text; a prose version was also inscribed in the temple. The text is poetic and highly laudatory. The stela acquired its name because it carries the only reference to **Israel** in any Egyptian text. This reference is, however, in the final hymn of praise in which Israel appears simply as one of a list of defeated states, including **Canaan**, Gezer, Ashkelon, and Yanoam.

IULIUS AEMILIANUS (fl. 262 AD). The **prefect** of Egypt in the reign of Gallienus. He was proclaimed emperor by the mob in **Alexandria**. The principal account of the **rebellion** is contained in the notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta*. Aemilianus struck his own coinage in Alexandria. He was successful against the **Blemmyes** in Upper Egypt, but loyalist forces landed in Alexandria and warfare in the city caused considerable devastation. Shortly afterward, the Palmyrene forces of **Zenobia** occupied Egypt.

IULIUS ALEXANDER, TIBERIUS (fl. c. 46–70 AD). From an affluent Jewish family of **Alexandria**, Tiberius Iulius Alexander abandoned Judaism and rose in the ranks of the Roman provincial administration. He was procurator of Judaea (c. 46–48 AD) and then served in Armenia, before being appointed **prefect** of Egypt. A Jewish **rebellion** in Palestine in 66 AD led to widespread trouble and there were clashes between Greeks and **Jews** in Alexandria. Iulius Alexander sent the army into the Jewish quarter to suppress the violence. In the crisis following the death of the emperor Nero (68 AD), Iulius Alexander supported Vespasian who was in the east, proclaiming him emperor at Alexandria on 1 July 69 AD.

IULIUS CAESAR, GAIUS (100–44 BC). Roman politician, general, and dictator. Following early political and military successes, Caesar rose to a position of supreme power shared with Pompey and Crassus. Crassus was killed in Parthia in 53 BC, and in 49 BC Caesar invaded Italy, thereby provoking the Roman Civil War. The following year, Pompey fled to Greece and Caesar went in pursuit, defeating him at Pharsalus. Pompey now fled to Egypt, where the young king Ptolemy XIII had him murdered. On his arrival, Pompey’s head was offered to Caesar. Caesar now took decisive action in the dispute between Ptolemy and his sister, **Kleopatra VII**, whom Caesar chose to support. This resulted in the **Alexandrian War**. Following the restoration of Kleopatra, Caesar left Egypt, advancing through the eastern provinces before returning to Rome, where he was murdered in 44 BC.

JERUSALEM. City in **Canaan**, later the capital of **Judah**. It appears in the **Amarna Letters**, when its ruler sought Kushite troops from **Amenhotep III**. The biblical record of the Book of Kings recounts the sack of Jerusalem by the pharaoh **Shishak** in the reign of Rehoboam (c. 925 BC). This ruler is generally identified with **Sheshonq I** in literature, although there have recently been dissenting voices, as the biblical narrative of the campaign bears little relation to the triumphal name-list of the Asiatic conquests of Sheshonq I at Karnak, in which Jerusalem does not appear. In the reign of Hezekiah (715–687 BC), shortly after the battle of **Eltekeh**, Jerusalem was besieged by a division of the Assyrian army, although **Sennacherib** himself stayed at Lachish. On this occasion, the Assyrian envoys warned Hezekiah not to rely on the Kushite pharaoh (according to the biblical record, **Taharqo**). The next major Egyptian interference was in the reign of **Nekau II**. Nekau dethroned Jehoahaz and installed Jehoiakim in 609 BC. Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Judah, eventually fell to **Nebuchadnezzar II**, king of **Babylon**, on 16 March 597 BC. In 588 BC, Jerusalem was again besieged by the Babylonians, and **Wahibre** led an expeditionary force to relieve it but was forced to withdraw. In 586 BC, Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians, following which there was a mass **deportation** of **Jews** to Babylon. Jerusalem was part of the Ptolemaic possession of Coele Syria, but eventually became part of the **Seleukid** kingdom, before the establishment of an independent kingdom under Herod. It remained a focus for the Jews and had close contacts with the community in **Alexandria**.

JEWISH REVOLT. The revolt began in **Cyrene** in 115 AD, in the reign of **Trajan**. There was massive destruction in the city. The revolt quickly spread to **Alexandria** and other parts of Egypt, **Cyprus**, and Babylonia. According to Eusebius, the revolt was widespread in Egypt outside Alexandria; it was led by Loukouas and was very violent. There are reports (probably greatly exaggerated) of Greeks being killed and eaten. The Roman troops were defeated and retreated to Alexandria leaving Egypt open to the rebels. There was destruction in the **Fayum**, Oxyrhynchite, Lykopolite, and Hermopolite nomes. Quintus Marcius Turbo, commander of the imperial fleet based at Misenum (near Naples), was given the task of suppressing the **rebellions**, which was achieved in 117 AD.

JEWS. A community of Jewish **mercenaries** was stationed on **Abu** (Elephantine) during the Persian period, documented by a large number of texts in Aramaic. There were other groups throughout Egypt that are known from correspondence. Jewish mercenaries also served in the Ptolemaic

army. The actions of **Antiochos IV** when he captured Jerusalem in the Sixth **Syrian War** provoked the Maccabean **rebellion** (167–164 BC). **Ptolemy VI** allowed the Jewish high priest, Onias IV, to settle in Egypt with a large group of followers. Onias was later appointed to a command in the army, and his sons Chelkias and Ananias were generals in the **Syrian War** of **Kleopatra III**. There is evidence for Jewish settlement in the **Fayum** (one village being named Magdala) and these might have been **veterans**. There was a substantial civilian Jewish population in **Alexandria**, which from the early first-century AD was often involved in violent clashes with the Greeks. The major incident was the **Jewish revolt** of 115–117 AD.

JOPPA. (Modern Jaffa) Coastal city of Palestine. Joppa occupied one of few natural harbors on the coast. Although contacts with Egypt began much earlier, it was probably during **Thutmose III**'s campaigns that Joppa came under Egyptian control. The town occurs in the topographical list of Thutmose III in the temple of Karnak, and was captured in his first Asiatic campaign of year 22–23. The 19th Dynasty "Papyrus Harris 500" (now in the British Museum, EA 10060) carries a story relating the capture of Joppa by the army of Thutmose III in a precursor of the story of the Forty Thieves. In this, the pharaoh's general Djehuty managed to get his 200 soldiers into the city by hiding them in baskets. Thutmose III is not present and if there is any veracity in this tale, it could reflect a later recapture of the city. A gold bowl with the name of Djehuty and the titles "Overseer of northern foreign lands" and "Overseer of the Army (General)" is in the collection of the Louvre Museum, although its authenticity has been questioned.

Joppa became an important Egyptian **garrison** and supply depot in the later New Kingdom. It is mentioned in the **Amarna Letters** (EA 294 and 296) as having Egyptian granaries, and it appears to have been directly administered, rather than having a vassal ruler. A 19th Dynasty document (Papyrus Anastasi I), in the form of a satirical letter, records the visit of a young officer to a chariot repair shop in the city.

JUDAH. Kingdom of western Asia, initially under Saul, David, and Solomon, united with **Israel**. It was ruled from **Jerusalem**. In the reign of Rehoboam (c. 925 BC), it was invaded by the pharaoh **Shishak**, usually identified with **Sheshonq I**, who sacked Jerusalem. In the 25th Dynasty, the Kushite pharaohs supported opposition by Judah and neighboring states to the aggression of **Assyria**. When Hezekiah rebelled against Sennacherib, a joint Egyptian-Kushite army came to his aid, confronting the Assyrians at the battle of **Eltekeh** (701 BC). Sennacherib then besieged Lachish (which was sacked) and Jerusalem. Hezekiah yielded and once again paid **tribute**, losing some of his territory. Egypt interfered in the politics of the kingdom

in the reign of **Nekau II**. On his way to confront the armies of **Babylon** at **Carchemish**, Nekau defeated and killed Josiah at the battle of **Megiddo**. He soon after replaced Josiah's son, Jehoahaz, with Jehoiakim. Jehoahaz was taken to Egypt, and Judah made to pay tribute. The kingdom of Judah was brought to an end by the campaigns of **Nebuchadnezzar II**, the fall of Jerusalem, and the **deportation** of the **Jews** to Babylon, in 587.

JULIUS CAESAR. *See* IULIUS CAESAR.

EL-KAB. *See* NEKHEB.

KADESH. *See* QADESH.

KAMBASUDEN. Local ruler of Lower **Nubia** recorded in the inscription of the king of **Meroe**, **Nastasen**. The Meroitic king sent a force of **archers** against him and captured his ships, lands, and cattle. The text refers to places called Karatep and Talaudy; the precise locations of which are uncertain. The episode is rather obscure. Earlier Egyptologists identified Kambasuden with the Persian king **Cambyses**. This can be safely discounted as the burial of Nastasen has now been excavated and must date to the later fourth century BC. The identification of Kambasuden with **Khabbash** was favored by more scholars, but is also to be rejected. The Nastasen inscription makes it quite clear that Kambasuden was a local ruler: it is highly unlikely that any Egyptian pharaoh would have been in Nubia with herds of cattle. The idea (of Fritz Hintze) that Kambasuden represented a Meroitic transcription of Khabbash was fanciful.

KAMOSE (reigned c. 1555–1550 BC). Theban ruler of the 17th Dynasty. Kamose continued the war against the **Hyksos** rulers of the **Delta** that had been begun by his father, **Tao**. Events of the war are narrated in texts of the two Kamose Stelae and the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1. These also allude to a military campaign in **Kush** against the **Kerma** kingdom. Two fragments of the First Kamose Stela were discovered at Karnak in 1932 and 1935; the Second Stela was also discovered, intact, at Karnak. The Second Stela launches into the middle of a speech without any preamble and is clearly the continuation of another inscription. Although the two Kamose Stelae relate to the same events, they do not form a pair and another, now lost, monument is assumed to have existed as the prologue to the Second Stela. The text of the First Stela relates closely to that of the Carnarvon Tablet narrating the council of war, the announcement of the pharaoh's decision to attack the Hyksos, and the storming of **Nefrusy**. The Second Stela records the advance northward to **Avaris** and the attack on the city, with references to the letter exchange between the Hyksos and Kushite rulers in which a pincer attack on Kamose is proposed. The text of Carnarvon Tablet No. 1 relates closely to that of the fragments of the First Stela, and it includes the council of war in which the pharaoh announces his intention of launching an attack on the Hyksos ruler of Avaris and the beginning of the conflict with activities in the region of Nefrusy in Middle Egypt. Kamose may have been killed in battle, as there was, apparently, a cessation of hostilities

during the childhood of his successor, **Ahmose I**.

KARIMALA (ninth/eighth centuries BC). Kushite **queen**. Her name has also been read as *Kadimalo* and *Katimala*. Karimala left a large inscription on the facade of the temple in the fortress of **Semna**. The texts are very difficult to read but allude to **rebellion** or **civil war** in **Nubia** led by Makarasha, apparently against the unnamed king who was the husband of Karimala.

KARM ABU-GIRG (30°54' N 29°56' E). A site on the western edge of the **Delta**, about 20 kilometers south of **Alexandria** and 50 kilometers southeast of **el-Gharbaniyat**. Some monuments of **Ramesses II** were found here, and it is possible that the site was the location of a **fortress**, part of the chain extending along the coast as far as **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham**, built as a defense against incursions of the **Libyans**.

KASHTA (reigned c. 750–736). King of **Kush**, who entered Upper Egypt and was recognized as pharaoh in **Thebes**. The details and chronology of the reign are obscure. It seems that Kashta succeeded Alara as king in Kush and had sufficient military and economic strength to invade Egypt. There are very few contemporary monuments that name him, although a fragment of a stela was discovered on the island of **Abu** (Elephantine). Most of the references to him are slightly later. The inscriptions of **Piye**, who appears to have been Kashta's direct successor, make it clear that Thebes and Upper Egypt acknowledged him as king at his accession, and Kashta must therefore have brought the region under Kushite rule and installed a **garrison** there. At Thebes, Kashta installed his daughter Amenirdis as heiress to the politically significant religious office of God's Wife of **Amun**, which was held by the **Libyan** princess Shepenwepet, daughter of **Osorkon III**.

KASSITES. Ruling dynasty of **Babylon (Shangar)** in the Late Bronze Age, from circa 1595–1155 BC. The kings engaged in letter exchange, **gift exchange**, and **diplomatic marriage** with the pharaohs of the later 18th Dynasty, notably **Amenhotep III** and **Akhenaten**, documented by the **Amarna Letters**. The gifts exchanged included **horses** and **chariots**. Earlier scholarship claimed that the Kassites were another Indo-European horse-breeding aristocracy, like the Hurrians who conquered **Mitanni**, and that their conquest of Babylon was similarly linked to their military superiority in the use of the fast, two-wheeled chariot. As with the Hurrians, this idea is now rejected. The Kassites appear to have been a people of the Zagros mountains of western Iran, although they are attested in Babylonia in the Old Babylonian period (c. 1900–1600 BC).

KEBENET. A term for a type of ship. It derives from the Egyptian name for

Byblos, Kebeḥ. The usage of the word in texts of Late Period date has caused controversy because some scholars understand *kebeḥet* to mean warships of a non-Egyptian type, identifying them as Greek **triremes**. The term is used in the text of a stela from **Abu** (Elephantine) of the reign of **Aḥmose II**. The admiral **Wedjahorresne** carries, among other titles, that of Overseer of the *kebeḥet*-vessels of the King. It recurs in the canal stelae of **Darius I** and in several texts of Ptolemaic date. In one of these, the word was written with a detailed hieroglyphic sign showing a Hellenistic warship. However, *kebeḥet* also seems to refer to cargo vessels and might simply be a term specifying large sea-going ships rather than riverine vessels.

KERMA. Site south of the Third **Cataract** in Upper **Nubia**. Capital city of the kingdom of **Kush**. Kerma may have also embraced the site of (or later been named) **Pnubs**, on the island of Tabo. Archaeological evidence shows that the site was important from the time of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Some scholars identify it with Yam, the destination of the expeditions of **Harkhuf**. As a trading partner the pharaohs of the 12th Dynasty probably supported it, but its power grew and the Kushite kings began to expand their control into **Wawat**. They captured and burned fortresses such as **Semna** and **Buhen**, later placing garrisons in them. The Kushite kings established trading relations with the **Hyksos** rulers of **Avaris**. **Kamose** and **Aḥmose I** attempted to confront the power of Kush before attacking the Hyksos, first gaining control of Buhen and then founding a new fortress at **Sai**. Kerma was apparently burned at the time of the campaign of **Thutmose I**, although recent excavation shows that it was extensively rebuilt and remained an important center.

KHABBASH (reigned c. 338–335 BC). Last indigenous ruler of Egypt. Khabbash established himself as pharaoh opposing the power of Persia, probably at the beginning of the reign of Darius III (336–332 BC in Egypt). Little is known of the **rebellion** or the reign. Khabbash was apparently crowned at **Memphis**. **Ptolemy I** found it politic to acknowledge him as a legitimate pharaoh and confirm one of his decrees in his “Satrap Stela” and this remains the major historical source for the reign. Although principally concerned with land donations for the temple of Buto, it alludes to upheaval at the time of the invasion of **Artaxerxes III** and to a tour made by Khabbash to inspect the waterways of the western **Delta** to prevent attack by the Persian fleet. Khabbash was incorrectly identified in some earlier literature with the Lower Nubian ruler **Kambasuden**, who was defeated by the Meroitic king, Nastaseñ.

KHAFRE (reigned c. 2558–2532 BC). Pharaoh of the Fourth Dynasty, and builder of the Second Pyramid at Giza. A fragment of relief sculpture depicting a bound prisoner was reported from excavations in the pharaoh’s

pyramid temple, but is inadequately published and its context unknown. Another fragment of relief, which probably comes from a private tomb at Giza of this reign, or that of Khufu, shows a group of five **archers** using self-**bows**. The **arrows** are detailed, showing the feathering and attachment to the butt. The archers wear the cross bands on the torso, which are typical of the military in the Old Kingdom. The fragment belongs to the earliest **battle scenes** to have survived.

KHARGA OASIS. The largest oasis in the Libyan **Desert** of Upper Egypt. It stands on the Darb el-Arba'in, the Forty Days Road, the major route for trans-Saharan trade in the medieval and early modern periods. Although it is unlikely that the full length of the Darb el-Arba'in was operational as far as Darfur and Kordofan in ancient times, there were connections with the Nile throughout **Nubia**.

Most of the evidence from Kharga Oasis comes from the later historical phases, from the Libyan period onward. At the southern end of the oasis, the Roman **fortress** of el-**Qasr** controlled the road from the south, but that of Dush related to the routes to the Nile Valley and Edfu. The temple in the main town (Hibis) is of Persian date as is the small original chapel within the fortress of **Qasr el-Ghueida**, which dominates the southern access to the town. The many monuments of the Roman period include the great fortress of ed-**Deir**, built in the reign of **Diocletian**, which controlled the road across the **desert** plateau north of Hibis to Girga (ancient Tjeny). Another road north of Kharga ran directly to Asyut (201 kilometers) and could leave the depression through either of two passes, Ramlia or Yabsa. There are numerous wells and cultivated areas with many signs of Roman–Byzantine settlement in this part of the oasis. The road is guarded by the fort of **Qasr el-Labeka** and two smaller forts or **watchtowers**, **Someira** and el-**Gib**, situated about two kilometers apart. Although under Egyptian control for much of its history, Kharga Oasis might have been occupied by **Libyans** as much as Egyptians. During the problems at the end of the 20th Dynasty, there were certainly movements of Libyans through the other oases of the Western Desert, into Kharga and from there into the Nile Valley of Upper Egypt and Nubia.

KHASEKHEMWHY (reigned c. 2600 BC). Last pharaoh of the Second Dynasty. Statues from **Nekhen** (Hierakonpolis) depict the king wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt and have figures of fallen enemies carved around the bases. These are signified as “northerners” and the figure 47,209 is given. The evidence, obscure as it is, has suggested to some Egyptologists that there was some sort of major **civil war** during the reign, perhaps with a religious background involving followers of the gods **Horus** and **Seth**; others are more circumspect. An alternative interpretation regards this as an exaggerated record of action in north **Sinai** and Palestine. A

fragmentary stela of the king suggests the subjection of Ta-Sety, which is a name for **Nubia** and for the first nome of Upper Egypt. Because of its similarities to the **Shunet el-Zebib** at Abydos, a large mud brick enclosure of this reign at Nekhen was suggested by early archaeologists to be a **fortress**, but is probably a temple enclosure.

KHEPESH. The sickle-shaped **sword**. Although it is similar in shape to the **scimitar**, the khepesh was heavier and sharp along its outer rather than inner edge. It was therefore used as a slashing or crushing weapon. The name derives from its resemblance to the stylized foreleg of an ox (the Egyptian word for which was *khepesh*). A good example of the weapon was found in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. With a full length of 59.7 centimeters, the khepesh, as well as its handle, is solid cast in bronze; the handle grips are of ebony. A smaller example, 40.6 centimeters long, is suggested to have been made for Tutankhamun as a child. It is also solid cast with attached wooden grips and has a sharp cutting blade. A number of other good examples survive. The khepesh is frequently seen being presented to the pharaoh by various deities, such as **Amun**, **Re**, and **Monthu**, and wielded by him over groups of foreign captives. The khepesh was in general use through western Asia and can be seen as part of the weaponry in the Asiatic **tribute** presented to **Akhenaten** in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna.

KHEPRESH. The “Blue Crown” sometimes called (particularly in older literature) the “war crown” or **helmet**. Tall and bulbous, the khepresh is usually colored blue, but can also be shown yellow. It is covered with small centered circles, which have been interpreted as metal or faience disks attached to a cloth or leather body. It is often, but by no means always, worn in **battle scenes**, and is now recognized as a symbol of the pharaoh’s temporal rule and legitimacy.

KHMUNU. Important city in Middle Egypt, often referred to by its Greek name, Hermopolis, the modern el-Ashmunein. Relatively little is known of the city’s history, although it was an important religious center situated in an agriculturally rich part of the country. In the Second Intermediate Period, Khmunu was the southernmost city controlled by the **Hyksos** rulers of **Avaris**. The inscriptions of **Kamose** refer to an attack by the Theban prince and his army on the town or fort of **Nefrusy**, which was close to Khmunu.

In the reign of Takeloth II, the high priest of **Amun** and Crown Prince **Osorkon** was active in the city. Osorkon’s inscription is not explicit, but he states that he “cleansed” the city, an act that usually occurred after violent capture and bloodshed. This occurred while the prince was advancing south to crush a **rebellion** in **Thebes**. It therefore seems probable that Khmunu had sided with the Thebans.

In the late Libyan period, Khmunu gained its own pharaoh, **Nimlot**. The southern frontier of Nimlot's kingdom was in the region of Tjeny (Girga), south of which was the territory of Thebes, controlled by the Kushite kings **Kashta**, and his successor, **Piye**, to whom Nimlot owed allegiance. Nimlot's northern neighbor was the kingdom of **Herakleopolis**. When **Tefnakht** of **Sau** marched south with his coalition of **Delta** dynasts, Nimlot defected. Piye's army under the command of his generals, Lemersekny and Purem, engaged the coalition somewhere in the vicinity of Khmunu. This might have been seen as a crucial **battle** by both sides because Nimlot, the pharaoh Iuput of Tent-remu, and pharaoh Osorkon of Per-Bastet were present with many of the Delta dynasts. The coalition was defeated; some of the dynasts were killed in battle, the army fled north, and Nimlot retreated into Khmunu. Piye now came in person to Egypt to finish the work his army had begun. Khmunu was put under extended siege, while parts of Piye's army campaigned farther north. Eventually, through the intercession of Nimlot's wife with the Kushite royal women, Piye accepted Nimlot's surrender.

KHUFU (reigned c. 2589–2566 BC). Pharaoh of the Fourth Dynasty, and builder of the Great Pyramid at Giza. A fragment of relief depicting a group of five **archers** using self-bows has been attributed to this reign, or that of **Khafre**. The relief probably comes from a private tomb at Giza because the style differs from that of the royal pyramid complex. The relief is very detailed, showing the construction of the **arrows**. The archers are certainly **soldiers** rather than hunters because they wear the cross bands on the torso, which is characteristic in the Old Kingdom. The fragment is the earliest **battle scene** to have survived, but its context is unknown.

KHYAN (reigned c. 1590 BC). **Hyksos** ruler of **Avaris** in the eastern **Delta**. Because a number of objects carrying his name were found in widely scattered sites in the Aegean and western Asia (e.g., Knossos and Baghdad), it was suggested by some early Egyptologists that a "Hyksos Empire" had stretched over parts of the Aegean and into western Asia. This idea is now totally discredited.

KLEOPATRA II (c. 185–116 BC). Daughter of **Ptolemy V** and wife, first of her brother **Ptolemy VI** Philometor, then (from 145 BC) of her other brother **Ptolemy VIII** Euergetes II. Euergetes later married Kleopatra's daughter by Philometor, **Kleopatra III**. In 132 BC, Kleopatra II began a **dynastic war** and was recognized as ruler in **Thebes**. She had support from certain elements in the population of **Alexandria**, notably the **Jews**. Euergetes II was expelled from Alexandria the following year, but had returned before 15 January 130 BC, and was preparing an expedition against Kleopatra. The **civil war** caused serious problems throughout the country. A native rebel, **Harsiesis**, took advantage and seized power in Thebes. Hermonthis

(Armant) was the last stronghold in Upper Egypt to support Kleopatra. A form of reconciliation was reached and an amnesty decree (*philanthropa*) was announced by all three rulers in 118 BC. Following the death of Euergetes II in June 116 BC, Kleopatra II continued to rule alongside her daughter and **Ptolemy IX** Soter II, but Kleopatra II, too, is last documented in 116 BC.

KLEOPATRA III (c. 158–101 BC). Daughter of **Ptolemy VI** Philometor and **Kleopatra II**. She married her uncle **Ptolemy VIII** Euergetes II (by whom she already had a child). Her life was marked by **dynastic wars**, firstly with her mother, Kleopatra II, and later with her son, **Ptolemy IX** Soter II. Forcing him out of Egypt in favor of her younger son, **Ptolemy X** Alexander I, led ultimately to the **Syrian War** of 103–101 BC. Kleopatra III died shortly after her return from the campaign. She and Ptolemy X are last recorded together on 14 October 101, and by 26 October 101, the king was associated with Kleopatra Berenike III. Ancient sources say that Kleopatra was murdered by her son in order to gain the support of disaffected military officers, and perhaps because of her support of the **Jews** and desire not to upset the Jewish civilian population.

KLEOPATRA VII PHILOPATOR (c. 69–30 BC). Daughter of **Ptolemy XII**. Following the death of her father, she ascended the throne with her brother **Ptolemy XIII**, but he soon ousted her and forced her to flee, first to Upper Egypt and then **Syria**. The events of the Roman Civil War now brought the two chief rivals to Egypt. The general Pompey was the first to land and was executed on the orders of Ptolemy. When **Julius Caesar** arrived in Egypt in pursuit of Pompey, Ptolemy tried to gain favor by sending him the embalmed head. However, Caesar chose to support Kleopatra's claims to joint rule. The result was the **Alexandrian War**, in which Ptolemy XIII was killed. The opposition at the Alexandrian court to Kleopatra seems to have been because of her pro-Roman sympathies. Caesar now installed Kleopatra and her younger brother, Ptolemy XIV, as joint rulers. Kleopatra had become Caesar's mistress and bore him a son, Ptolemy XV Caesar (or Kaisarion). Caesar restored **Cyprus** to Kleopatra. She later joined Caesar in Rome and was there when he was assassinated in 44 BC.

Her later military activities were closely linked with those of her later husband, the Roman general and triumvir, and Caesar's political heir, Marcus **Antonius** (Mark Antony). Kleopatra supplied troops for the invasion of Parthia. Antonius did not, however, grant all of Kleopatra's territorial wishes, leaving Herod in control of Judea. The relationship with Antonius ultimately fuelled the conflict between him and Caesar's other heir, Caius Octavius, later the emperor **Augustus**. This led to the **civil war** and confrontation of their forces at the battle of **Aktion** (31 BC). The following year, Octavius marched on **Alexandria**, which was captured.

Antonius and Kleopatra committed suicide and Egypt became a Roman province.

KOR. Defended settlement of Middle Kingdom date at the foot of the Second **Cataract** in **Nubia**. On the west bank of the Nile, Kor stands 4.5 kilometers south of the **fortress** of **Buhen**, to which it was probably ancillary. It is north of the fortress of **Mirgissa**, and opposite **Dorginarti**. A large “administrative building” carefully oriented north–south might be a temporary royal palace used by a pharaoh on military campaign. The settlement was defended by an enclosure wall with rounded bastions and loopholes similar to the first outer enclosure at Buhen. It is probably early 12th Dynasty in date.

KOS, BATTLE OF (spring 255 BC). Naval battle in the Aegean that saw the Egyptian fleet of Ptolemy II, commanded by Patroklos, defeated by Antigonos Gonatas, King of Macedonia. This, with the sea battle near Ephesos, effectively marked the end of Egypt’s naval hegemony in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. The battle probably took place in spring 255 BC, late in the Second **Syrian War**, although some scholars have suggested that it was in 261 BC, toward the end of the **Chremonidean War**.

KROKODILOPOLIS (EL-RIZEIQAT). Small town in Upper Egypt south of Thebes. Military camps were established at Krokodilopolis and **Pathyris** after the **rebellion** of **Haronnophris** and **Chaonnophris**. That at Krokodilopolis was a **hypaithron**.

KUBBAN. *See* QUBAN.

KUMMA. Small **fortress** at the head of the Second **Cataract**, standing on the east bank of the Nile opposite the larger fortress of **Semna**, with which it formed a unit, commanding the narrowest point on the river. Kumma was part of the defensive network at the southern **border** built by **Senusret III**. Kumma was roughly rectangular in plan, with outer walls of mud brick on masonry foundations, some six meters thick. There was a river-gate and main fortified entrance. Its accommodation suggests a **garrison** of between 40 and 100 men, but wall length suggests defense needs of between 175 and 350 men. Additional troops could have been sent over on a daily basis from Semna. Kumma was reoccupied during the New Kingdom and again in the reign of **Taharqo**.

KUSH. Kingdom in Upper **Nubia**. In the earliest records, Kush is, specifically, the name of the area around **Kerma**. By the New Kingdom, Kush was used as a general term for the whole of Nubia between the Second and Fourth **Cataracts**. This was divided into two parts; the northern, between the Second and Third Cataracts was the Egyptian

province of Kush, under the control of the **viceroy** and his deputy (the *idnu*), with a fortress at **Sai** and later administrative centers at Soleb, Sesebi, and Amara; the region between the Third and Fourth Cataracts was probably left as a buffer zone, under the authority of the viceroy, the Overseer of Bowmen of Kush, and various local princes. Kush became an even more generalized name for the whole of Nubia south of the First Cataract and is found as such in Assyrian, Persian, and biblical texts.

LIBU. Ethnic group, one of the major tribes of the **Libyans**. The Libu first appear in texts of the 18th Dynasty, but are first prominent as opponents of Egypt in the reign of **Merenptah**. They were the major element in the Libyan invasion of year 5 of Merenptah and a lesser one in the Libyan invasions of years 5 and 11 of **Ramesses III**. In the Third Intermediate Period, the Libu appear to have been settled in the western **Delta**, notably around the city of **Sau** (Sais). The rulers of Sau were entitled Chiefs of the Libu as well as Chiefs of the **Meshwesh** (Ma).

LIBYA. A term used for the **desert** regions west of the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean littoral as far as **Cyrenaica**. One of the traditional enemies of Egypt. Egyptian terminology for the **Libyans** changes over time, with some archaic terms such as *Tjehenu* continuing alongside contemporary names of ethnic or tribal groups, such as **Libu** and **Meshwesh**. The early peoples of Libya were nomadic or seminomadic, probably pastoralists. Our archaeological knowledge of Libya in the Bronze Age is still very limited. In the Iron Age, Phoenician and Greek colonies were established on the north African coast. In Libya, the most important of these was **Cyrene**. **Wahibre** is reported to have aided a native Libyan attack on Cyrene, which failed and resulted in a **rebellion** of the Egyptian troops, the proclamation of **Ahmose II**, and the dethronement of Wahibre. Ahmose II had the support of Cyrene and concluded a **diplomatic marriage** with the royal family. In the reign of **Darius I**, the **satrap** Aryandes sent an expedition against Barca, which involved a nine-month siege. **Ptolemy I** gained control of Cyrenaica, which with some phases of independence remained a part of the Ptolemaic kingdom until Ptolemy Apion bequeathed it to Rome in 96 BC.

LIBYA PALETTE. Also called the “Towns Palette.” Fragmentary ceremonial slate palette of the Predynastic Period or early First Dynasty now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. One side shows “heraldic” animals, including a lion, falcon, and scorpion using hoes to destroy fortified enclosures. There are also two standards with falcons. Seven enclosures are shown, square in form with bastioned walls. Inside the enclosures are hieroglyphic groups. It is assumed that the animals represent “clan” or “tribal” groups, and that the whole is a record of one part of the unification process recorded on other near-contemporary votive objects, such as the **Gebel el-Arak Knife**, the **Scorpion Macehead**, and the **Narmer Palette**.

LIBYANS. “Libyans” were one of the traditional enemies of Egypt and

appear to have been almost any **desert**-dwelling, nomadic or seminomadic population, which lived to the west of the Nile valley. Conflict between Egypt and Libyans is suggested (if not fully attested) by the “**Libya Palette**,” the reliefs in the pyramid temple of **Sahure**, and of **Menthuhotep II** at Deir el-Bahari. The archaic names Tjemeh and Tjehenu are used throughout the dynastic period, but, from the 19th Dynasty onward, specific tribal groups are named: the Seped, the **Libu**, and the **Meshwesh**. These groups became a grave threat to Egypt. Sety I included scenes of his Libyan Wars in the cycle of his campaigns depicted at Karnak (**Thebes**). A string of **fortresses** to control Libyan movements toward Egypt was built in the reign of **Ramesses II**. Stretching westward from **Memphis** along the western edge of the **Delta** to **Rakote** and on through **Karm Abu-Girg**, **el-Gharbaniyat**, and **Alamein** to **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham**, the forts seem to have lasted only for this reign. Perhaps forced by famine to find new grazing lands, Libyan groups invaded Egypt in the reign of **Merenptah** and **Ramesses III**.

Ramesses III settled Libyan soldiers in garrison towns, probably around Bubastis. The text of a stela from Deir el-Medina also refers to the victories of these years and suggests that Ramesses might have forced assimilation.

Later in the 20th Dynasty, there were Libyan incursions into Upper Egypt particularly around **Thebes**. A statue of **Ramesses VI** shows him leading a Libyan captive. The Libyans dominated Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period, with the dynasty founded by **Sheshonq I**. The Libyan dynasts of the Delta presented a major source of opposition to the attempts of the kings of **Kush** and **Assyria** to control Egypt. **Psamtik I**, probably a descendant of Libyan dynasts, led campaigns against the “Libyans” early in his reign. Later references are more specific about locations.

The principal weapon of the Libyans was the **bow**. Only one Libyan in the battle reliefs of Sety I carries a sword (of non-Egyptian type), but the battle reliefs of Ramesses III show other **weapons** and **chariots**. These weapons were clearly the result of the **arms trade** and are probably to be associated with the presence of small groups of the **Sea Peoples**, probably mercenary soldiers, who fought alongside the Libyans.

LIBYAN WAR OF MERENPTAH (year 5 c. 1208/1207 BC). The principal records are the text of the **Israel Stela** from the pharaoh’s temple on the west bank at **Thebes**, the stela from Karnak with a duplicate text, and the record on the east wall of the *Cour de la Cachette* between the main temple and the Seventh Pylon. The Libyans were dominated by the **Libu**, led by Mariyu, son of Didi. They had penetrated Egypt, along the western fringe of the **Delta** and a **battle**, lasting six hours, was fought. The invasion was apparently meant to have been synchronized with a rebellion in **Nubia** and was allied with groups of the **Sea Peoples**. The casualties of the specified groups are relatively small, compared with Libyan casualties of 6,359:

Ekwesh (2,201), Teresh (742), Shekelesh (222), Lukka and Sherden (200?). This suggests that the Sea Peoples are, in this case, **mercenary** troops. The Libyan movement is specifically stated to have been caused by famine in Libya.

LIBYAN WAR OF SETY I. Although conflict with **Libyans** is documented from earliest times, the major Libyan Wars occurred in 19th Dynasty. The first to be recorded by prominent **battle scenes** is that of **Sety I**, forming part of the cycle of reliefs on the north outer wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (**Thebes**). There are four scenes. The first shows Sety in his **chariot**, his forward foot on the chariot pole, the reins tied around his waist, charging and about to kill the large figure of a Libyan chief. Sety wears the **khepresh** and grasps his strung **bow**, wielding the **khepesh-sword** for close combat. The chief, possibly of the **Meshwesh**, wears the feather and phallus sheath. The royal chariot charges into the melee of wounded soldiers who carry bows, only one has a sharp **sword**. In the second scene, the pharaoh has descended from his chariot and, trampling over fallen Libyans, grasps the chief and is about to kill him with a short stabbing **spear**. Sety wears the lappeted wig. The third scene shows the triumphant return. The pharaoh, wearing the khepresh, drives his chariot, holding the reins along with his bow, khepesh, and whip. The chariot is decorated with the heads of Libyans. Before him, the pharaoh drives two lines of captives, their arms tied at the elbows. The final scene shows the presentation of captives to the Theban gods, along with booty of elaborate vessels and two tusk *rhyta*, all of typically Asiatic type. The texts use only the generalized term *Tehenu* and are otherwise uninformative about locale and enemy. The pharaoh is likened to **Monthu** and **Horus** and is described as “like **Baal** when he treads the mountains.”

LIBYAN WARS OF RAMESSES III (year 5 c. 1180 BC; year 11 c. 1174 BC). The Libyan Wars of **Ramesses III** are recorded by reliefs on the north exterior wall and in the first courtyard of the pharaoh's temple at **Medinet Habu** on the west bank at **Thebes**. The first invasion was an alliance of the **Meshwesh**, the **Libu**, and the **Seped**. The scenes show the pharaoh setting out, with heralds and **musicians** (trumpeters), and, in its own **chariot**, the standard of **Amun**. The Egyptian **army** includes Egyptians with **khepesh** and **shields**; Nubians with throw sticks (or cudgels), **spear** and **axe**; Nubian **archers**; **mercenaries** from Asia and the **Sea Peoples** (mixed contingents of **Shardana** and **Peleset**). The **battle scene** includes the typical mêlée and a **fortress** called “the town of Ramesses who has repulsed the Temeh.” The aftermath includes the military **bureaucracy** counting the severed hands and phalluses of the enemy. In one scene, the pile of genitals shows penis and testicles, rather than the phallus alone.

The second Libyan War of year 11 (c. 1174 BC) was led by Meshesher,

chief of the Meshwesh. The scenes show the battle, in the western **Delta**, in which the Libyans use chariots and foreign **weapons**. The chariots, notably, have wheels with four spokes. The Libyans were defeated and routed. Pursued by the Egyptian army, they fled past two fortresses, one called the “Castle in the Sand.” The inscriptions state that, in this pursuit, 2,275 Libyans were killed. The scenes of the presentation of captures to Ramesses III include the severed hands and phalluses, captives, and a large array of weaponry, including long, sharp **swords** of Asiatic type.

LITERATURE. A wide variety of literary sources can be used for the study of warfare, military matters, and civil unrest in Egypt.

Egyptian Pharaonic. Historical Texts. Earlier Egyptologists generally treated historical texts as basically factual accounts, but acknowledged they were prejudiced through being written by the victor. Occasionally, this led to the text being read as meaning the opposite of what was said. So, for example, in the Dream Stela of **Tanwetamani**, where it is stated that when the pharaoh ascended the throne “none stood up against (him),” it was understood that he actually faced serious opposition. A more sophisticated text criticism now sees all official royal stelae as part of the literary genre of ideal kingship and royal self-justification in which the ideal merges with the historical moment. It is also recognized that the date at the beginning of a text does not necessarily have any bearing on the date of the production of the monument or, unless stated, of the events recorded. However, such inscriptions do contain historical “facts” and have value for the reconstruction of events.

Historical texts are, in fact, surprisingly few. Hardly anything survives from the Old Kingdom that deals with military matters—a few references, not all of which can be assigned to specific reigns, are to be found in the **Palermo Stone**, otherwise there are only brief texts on labels and stelae. The Middle Kingdom is equally scant in official documents. The documentation from the New Kingdom is far richer with the Stelae of **Kamose** and other complementary texts: the Tumbos Stela of **Thutmose I**; inscriptions of **Thutmose II**; the **Annals of Thutmose III**; the Amada Stela of **Amenhotep II**; the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II is more concerned with **ethos**; fragmentary inscriptions of **Thutmose IV** and **Amenhotep III** relate to actions in **Nubia**; the fragmentary stela from **Buhen** records **Akhenaten**’s campaign against **Ikayta**; the **battle scenes of Sety I** carry some textual information; the Amara Stela and its parallel texts record Sety I’s war with **Irem**; the richest array of material relates to **Ramesses II** and the battle of **Qadesh**; the **Israel Stela** and its parallel texts record the **Libyan War of Merenptah**; and the **Libyan Wars of Ramesses III** are recorded by inscriptions at **Medinet Habu**. Relatively few comparable royal “historical” inscriptions exist from the post-New Kingdom. The triumphal relief of **Sheshonq I** at Karnak shows the pharaoh

presenting captured cities to **Amun** but lacks any accompanying narrative text. The stelae of the Kushite kings **Piye**, **Tanwetamani**, **Harsiyotef**, and **Nastasen** are modeled on New Kingdom types and couched in the same terminology. The stelae recording the campaign of **Psamtik II** into Nubia also belong to the genre of historical inscriptions.

Private inscriptions, often referred to as “autobiographical,” are another valuable source but, like royal texts, are formed within a specific context, usually funerary. They act as justification, and placing the individual in relation to the ruler, and also emphasize social rank. Nevertheless, the inscriptions of **Ahmoose son of Ebana**, **Ahmosepen-Nekhbet**, **Amenemhab**, and others provide information on military activities that is otherwise lost. The texts accompanying tomb scenes of military officials such as **Tjanuni** and **Horemheb** give some information on military organization.

Poems and hymns. The local pharaoh, Peftjauawybast of **Herakleopolis**, sang a paean in honor of the Kushite pharaoh, Piye, after his besieged town was relieved in the war against **Tefnakht**. Hymns in honor of **Senusret III** have allusions to military conquest and might but are couched within the typical phraseology of royal justification. The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III and the “Poem of Pentawere” on the battle of Qadesh are similarly nonspecific in terms of detail.

Letters and administrative documents. The Semna Despatches is a collection of detailed reports of 12th Dynasty date, recording activities in the region of the Second **Cataract** forts. The best single source from the New Kingdom is a collection of papyrus documents known as the *Anastasi Papyri* and *Sallier Papyri*. Some of these are scribal exercises in the form of letters from various military officials. They are assumed to be copies of, or modeled on, actual texts. They are thus subject to the usual problems of interpretation. There are letters about the **Madjoy** and their employment in building works at **Memphis**, details of equipment and supplies for a campaign in **Syria**, and complaints about **boredom** from garrison officers in Syria. The archive of letters of the scribe Dhutmose-Tjaroy and his son Butehamun from **Thebes** are important in reconstructing the events of the **civil war** in the time of **Ramesses XI**. The archive includes letters written while Dhutmose was accompanying a military expedition in Nubia against the Viceroy **Panehesy**. The Wilbour Papyrus details the landholdings of mercenary soldiers in Middle Egypt and the entrance to the **Fayum** in the 20th Dynasty. From the Persian period, there is an extensive archive in Aramaic recording the activities of the **garrison** in **Aswan** made up of **mercenaries**, mainly **Jews** and other Syro-Palestinians.

Graffiti and rock inscriptions. These are some of the most informative sources because they are situated in the places where the **army** and officials went. Graffiti and inscriptions vary enormously in the amount and type of information they contain. Some are lengthy, perhaps taking the form of a

stela with a scene at the top, usually showing the pharaoh smiting an enemy, and with a narrative text. Others are simply a personal name, or group of names and titles, scratched onto the rocks. Some sites have a large number of graffiti indicating their religious and strategic importance: the island of Sehel, near **Aswan**, in the First **Cataract**, has hundreds of rock inscriptions. Many of these were written by local priests, but there is a significant group carved for the viceroys of **Kush** and their subordinates on their way into Nubia. One set of 19th Dynasty graffiti relates to a single tour of inspection, and the individuals named left further inscriptions elsewhere in Nubia. Also on Sehel are records of the clearance of the **canal** through the cataract. On the mainland close by, the military road from Aswan to the port near Shellal has records of the army going south. A number of points at the end of **desert** patrol routes in Nubia carry inscriptions. At Tangur near the Dal Cataract, graffiti record the military expeditions of Senusret III and Thutmose III. The island of **Tumbos** in the Third Cataract, and **Hagar el-Merwa** beyond the Fifth Cataract, were other places where officials left graffiti and kings carved boundary inscriptions. Fewer sites in Asia are so far known to carry Egyptian texts. Thutmose I and Thutmose III state that they left boundary inscriptions near the Euphrates, but these have never been identified. The narrow pass at the **Nahr el-Kelb** in Lebanon is one place where inscriptions are preserved. Here, **Ramesses II** left two inscriptions (of year 4 and perhaps year 8). Similar monuments were carved later for **Esarhaddon** (recording his defeat of **Taharqo**), **Nebuchadnezzar**, and the Roman emperor Caracalla.

Literary texts. Some stories have a specifically military context, whereas others include references and allusions to actual (presumably) events or to military **ethos**. The story of **Sinuhe** begins with allusion to the murder of **Amenemhat I** and later details Sinuhe's hand-to-hand combat and the weapons he used. The "Instruction of Amenemhat I" begins with a prologue detailing the pharaoh's murder and includes advice on the construction of fortresses. The narrative of the capture of **Joppa** by a general of Thutmose III is assumed to have some basis in reality. Another small fragment of a literary text describes King Thutmose III in the midst of battle (perhaps **Megiddo**). The **Pedubast Cycle** is set in the late Libyan period, although it cannot be used as a historical source, and has strong influences from Greek literature.

Western Asiatic texts. From the New Kingdom, the principal foreign texts are the **Amarna Letters**, mostly written in the Akkadian language, recording events in western Asia in the reigns of Amenhotep III, **Akhenaten**, and **Tutankhamun**. A similar group of letters and historical narratives was preserved in the archives of the **Hittites** at Hattusas. Some other historical material comes from the archives of Ugarit in Syria, notably relating to the **Sea Peoples**. The texts from the royal palaces of **Assyria** are a valuable source for detail about relations with Egypt in the Third

Intermediate Period and 26th Dynasty. They suffer from the usual problems of ancient “historical” texts. The Royal Annals from the palaces were carved on reliefs, and stone slabs in various editions, and also on clay prisms. As the reign advanced, the events of the earlier years could be epitomized and drastically abbreviated. In some cases events recorded by one text are completely omitted in later versions. In addition to the annals, a mass of other clay tablets including oracles and prayers to the sun god have been preserved. Many of these allude to the conflicts with Egypt in the reign of **Taharqo** and the actions of Assyrian officials figure prominently. A large number of Vassal Treaties with the rulers of western Asia also survive. A similar group of material survives for the activities of the Kings of **Babylon**, adding some detail to their relations with Egypt in the 26th Dynasty. Egypt also appears in some texts from Persia, but the events and conflicts of the Persian period in Egypt are more fully documented by inscriptions and archives from Egypt itself and by the Greek narrative histories.

Greek and Roman texts. The narrative histories in Greek provide a large amount of information on Egypt, although this has to be treated with considerable caution. The earliest and most famous, although not necessarily the most reliable, is the account of Herodotos, which has stimulated a huge critical literature. Herodotos includes accounts of the **machimoi**; the invasion of Nubia by **Psamtik II**; the expedition of **Wahibre** against **Cyrene**; the Persian conquest of Egypt by **Cambyses**; and the **rebellion** of **Inaros**. Other Greek histories, such as that of Thucydides, include further incidents in the relations between Egypt and the Persian Empire. The encyclopedic works of the Hellenistic and Roman periods—many written in Greek, by Diodoros, Strabo, and Pliny, among others—extract fragments from other writers. Although subject to numerous errors of transmission, these sources can add detail and alert us to events that are otherwise undocumented.

Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The royal inscriptions that survive from Ptolemaic Egypt are of traditional types, written variously in hieroglyphic, Greek, and demotic (a late cursive script used for writing the Egyptian language). Some inscriptions, such as the decree of the priests of Memphis of the reign of **Ptolemy V** (the “Rosetta Stone”), are written in all three scripts. The Rosetta Stone and the Decree of Philae allude to the suppression of the rebellion of Upper Egypt led by **Chaonnophris** and **Haronnophris**. The “Satrap Stela” of **Ptolemy I** quotes from a document of the reign of **Khabbash** referring to the invasion of **Artaxerxes III**.

The principal sources for reconstructing the events of the Ptolemaic period are the histories written by Greek and Roman authors, notably that of Polybius. Although Polybius’s subject is specifically the rise of Rome, his work contains information on Ptolemaic dynastic affairs and wars, including a detailed account of the battle of **Raphia**. Ptolemaic Egypt also

figures prominently in the works of the Roman historian, Livy. Plutarch's lives of various Hellenistic rulers and Roman generals, notably **Marcus Antonius** (and hence **Kleopatra VII**), were compiled from earlier sources. Arrian wrote the best-preserved (and generally considered most reliable) narrative of **Alexander the Great**'s campaigns. He compiled his account from a number of early Hellenistic works, including one written by Ptolemy I. There are contemporary accounts of events in Egypt, although with authorial bias, written by Romans who took part. **Julius Caesar**'s "Civil War" gives an account of the events leading up to the **Alexandrian War**, and an account of the war itself was apparently written by one of Caesar's generals. Strabo narrates the conflict between Rome and **Meroe** in the early years of the reign of **Augustus**.

Archives of papyrus documents are very rich in information on individual soldiers and their role in Ptolemaic Egypt. Such documents from the Fayum detail the lives and landholdings of **cleruchs**, and similar material is known from Upper Egypt, notably **Pathyris**. Some literary works, such as those of Theokritos in praise of **Ptolemy II**, are not strictly historical. For the later Roman period, there are fewer inscriptions, although the representations of Roman emperors in temples continue the pharaonic traditions of the universal ruler. Most information on events comes from literary sources, histories, and papyrus documents, and the evidence of coins. Imperial biography, in the form of the notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta*, continues to the time of Constantine. Of more value is the history written by Ammianus Marcellinus (the surviving books covering 354–378 AD) and the **Notitia Dignitatum**, detailing the Roman **garrisons** throughout Egypt.

LUKKA. In Egyptian texts, the name appears as Ruku but should probably be vocalized as Lukka. They are to be identified with the inhabitants of the "Lukka lands" of **Hittite** texts and those of classical Lycia in southwestern Asia Minor. Some served in the Hittite army in the battle of **Qadesh** and they appear as **Libyan** allies (probably **mercenaries**) in the record of **Merenptah's Libyan War** of year 5. They are therefore included in the "Sea Peoples." The name *Pa-Luka* occurs as that of an official of the reign of **Ramesses III**.

MACE. One of the earliest weapons of war and symbols of the pharaoh's might. Numerous maceheads in different shapes and unusual stones survive from the earliest periods. The ceremonial macehead of king "Scorpion" attests the significance of the object, and it is the weapon favored in all early images of the king smiting his enemies (e.g., the **Narmer** Palette; Label of **Den**). In the New Kingdom, the mace is frequently (but not always, see e.g., the pylon reliefs at **Medinet Habu**) replaced in such scenes by the **khepesh**, although it remains an essential royal attribute.

MACHIMOI. According to Herodotos (II 164), the Egyptians were divided into seven classes, of which the military (the *machimoi*) and priests ranked highest. The military class was divided (by place of origin) into the Kalasirians, who numbered, at their most numerous, 250,000 men and Hermotybians, at most 160,000. They were forbidden to follow any other trade or craft, had an exclusively military education and training, and were hereditary in the male line. This warrior-class had certain privileges, and only the priestly class had similar. Each man was granted 12 arouras of land, free of tax. A thousand from each group served as the king's **bodyguard**, with grants of food. This description of a military caste does not fit the evidence from the New Kingdom, although it has influenced interpretation of the evidence. However, the term recurs in papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt and it has been assumed that Herodotos's account reflects a Late Period development that continued into the Ptolemaic period. The evidence actually seems to be far less clear. Although some writers have taken Ptolemaic references to *machimoi* to refer to the Greek standing army, the evidence from the papyri was argued by both Jean Lesquier, and by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, to mean the native Egyptian military caste. It has been argued further that, following the battle of **Raphia**, these Egyptian *machimoi* were settled as **cleruchs**, receiving grants of land, notably in **Fayum** villages, such as Kerkeosiris.

MADJOY. The name originally indicated an ethnic group from **Nubia**. Identification with the modern Beja of the Eastern **Desert** has been suggested, on a similarity of names. From the Middle Kingdom onward, it refers to an official group of quasi-military nature in Egypt, and apparently mostly of Egyptian origin, who are generally described as "police" in the literature. They are depicted in the tomb reliefs at Amarna. The small numbers of Madjoy who appear in texts, and some of their associations, suggest that they were some type of specialized force. A small number was attached to the protection of the royal necropolis at **Thebes** and resided on

the west bank. The Madjoy might also have had a role as frontier guards, in the fortress of **Senmut** and the **Wadi Tumilat**. Fifty Madjoy took part in the quarrying expedition of **Ramesses IV** to the Wadi Hammamat. The office of “Chief of the Madjoy” in the later New Kingdom was one of the high offices of state. Men holding the title are often found overseeing building works in which numbers of troops are employed. There is little evidence of them after the 20th Dynasty.

MAHARRAQA. The modern name for the temple and frontier town of *Hiera Sykaminos* (Holy Sycamore), which marked the southern limit of the **Dodekaschoinos** and the political **border** between Egypt under Ptolemaic and Roman rule and the Kushite kingdom of **Meroe** until it was withdrawn by **Diocletian** to **Aswan**.

MARCH. The campaigning of the Egyptian **army** in Asia and **Nubia** involved very long marches, mostly through terrain completely different to that of Egypt. Within Egypt, river travel was the norm, and this seems to have applied to conveying the army into Nubia also. The inscriptions of Inyotefiqer in the early 12th Dynasty, and of **Thutmose I** in the 18th, imply that the river was the main artery. However, Thutmose I seems to have reached Kurgus and **Hagar el-Merwa** in the region of the Fifth **Cataract** by the **desert** road, rather than the Nile route, and the campaign of **Thutmose III** to **Miu** probably followed the same route. The campaign of **Sety I** against **Irem** also went across the desert.

For some of the Asiatic campaigns, troops were taken by ship to Byblos or Tyre, when the action was directed at north Syria. Campaigns farther south generally involved a march along the **Ways of Horus** to **Gaza**, and then through Palestine.

In 605 BC, the army of **Nekau II** marched as far as **Carchemish** on the Euphrates and thus equalled the marches of Thutmose I and Thutmose III. In this instance, Nekau fought battles at **Megiddo** and Hamath, which lie along the main north-south route.

With the limited evidence available, it is suggested that the army marched at approximately 22–24 kilometers per day. The details of one specific march are known. In order to achieve his preferred place of battle, **Ptolemy IV** made a forced march from **Pelusion** to **Raphia** in five days. To cover the distance of 180 kilometers requires an average daily march of 36 kilometers. This was in June, with an army of around 70,000, accompanying **baggage**, and **elephants**.

Although varying interpretations have been offered, the texts of the **Qadesh** campaign of **Ramesses II** seem to indicate that the four **divisions** of the army marched separately, in two parallel groups. This would have ensured that the rear divisions camped at different sites to those in the van and hence would have had access to untouched foraging.

MARIYANNU. It was once thought that the term was of Indo-Iranian origin describing an elite caste of **horse** and **chariot**-owning soldiers. These people were supposed to represent an Indo-Aryan aristocracy that introduced horses, two-wheeled chariots, and composite **bows** into the Near East at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. They were also supposed to have been the ruling elite of the Hurrian kingdom of **Mitanni**, the system, and possibly the caste, spreading into the other kingdoms, even Egypt. The theory is now generally discredited and more recent research has shown that *mariyannu* is a Hurrian term that seems to have been generally applied to those who were trained as chariot warriors, even if the horses and chariots were supplied by the state.

MASKHUTA, TELL EL- (WADI TUMILAT). **Fortress** of 26th Dynasty date, 210 meters by 210 meters with walls 15 meters thick. It has similar cellular construction to Tell Dafana (**Daphnae**), **Migdol** (Tell el-Heir, 50 kilometers to the north-west), and the Palace of Apries (**Wahibre**) in the northern part of **Memphis**. It is identified by most Egyptologists with *Per-Atum*, the classical and biblical *Pithom*, *Heroönpolis* of Ptolemaic texts. It stands at the eastern end of the strategically significant Wadi Tumilat by the **canal** of **Nekau II** and **Darius I**.

MEDINET HABU. Modern name for the temple complex of **Ramesses III** on the west bank at **Thebes**. The temple, in common with similar structures, was enclosed within a massive mud-brick **wall**, which also housed the administrative buildings of the temple estates, with houses for officials and priests associated with the temple. Toward the end of the 20th Dynasty, the situation in the Theban region, with bands of **Libyans** and unrest, caused the workers on the royal tombs to remove from their village in the foothills close by, to the protection of the temple enclosure. Even this did not prove sufficient, and letters indicate that many villagers crossed the river to the main city of Thebes. At Medinet Habu, the enclosure walls are particularly well preserved, standing in places 16 meters high and 10.5 meters thick at the base. The stone-built eastern entrance to the whole enclosure took the form of a Syrian fortress-tower (**Migdol**).

The temple is also important for the reliefs recording the campaigns of Ramesses III. These commence on the exterior west wall (the rear of the temple) with the campaign in **Nubia**, and continue along the northern exterior wall with Asiatic campaigns and the **Libyan Wars**, culminating with the battle with the **Sea Peoples**. Reliefs depicting the second Libyan War decorate the First Court. The columns of the court carry conventional imagery of universal royal dominion, which complement the “historical” scenes. On the columns of the south colonnade, Ramesses III is shown smiting foreign rulers in front of deities, and the bases of the colossal statues of the pharaoh, which dominate the northern colonnade, depict the

royal name clutching captive rulers.

MEGIDDO. Town in northern **Canaan**, called *Mkt* in Egyptian texts. Megiddo, the modern site of Tell el-Mutesellim, stands at the southwestern corner of the Plain of Esdraelon (Jezreel Valley), guarding the entrance to the Wadi Ara (Nahal Iron) through the Carmel Ridge. Megiddo was strategically situated on the Via Maris and was, in consequence, the site of some significant ancient **battles**. The most important battles involving Egyptian forces were those of the reign of **Thutmose III** (see **Megiddo, battle of [c. 1456 BC]**) and **Nekau II** (see **Megiddo, battle of [609 BC]**).

Although Megiddo had contacts with Egypt from early times, it did not come under Egyptian control until Thutmose III's first Asiatic campaign in year 22–23. Following its capture, Megiddo remained an Egyptian vassal and figures prominently in the **Amarna Letters** (EA 242–246, 365). Its ruler, Biridiya, expresses concern about the threat posed by the ruler of Shechem to the town and requests Egyptian military protection, in another letter asking specifically for 100 **archers**. Megiddo remained an important Egyptian base throughout the 19th and 20th Dynasties. Excavations at the site have recovered large quantities of Egyptian material, including an object with the name and titles of a royal **envoy** of the reign of **Ramesses III**. The latest Egyptian royal name is that of **Ramesses VI**, and the end of the Egyptian domination of Canaan is attributed to his reign.

Megiddo appears in the topographical list of **Sheshonq I** at Karnak, and a small fragment of a stela with the king's name was found at the site. The destruction of Level VA/IVB has been attributed to Sheshonq's campaign. Megiddo was an important center of the kingdom of **Israel** until it was captured by Tiglath-pileser III of **Assyria**. From this time on, its importance declined, although it maintained strong contacts with Egypt, and large quantities of imported Egyptian objects have been found in the later archaeological levels. The city declined further during the Persian period and was abandoned about the time of **Alexander the Great**.

MEGIDDO, BATTLE (c. 1456 BC). On his first campaign in western Asia, **Thutmose III** confronted a coalition of the rulers of **Canaan** and **Syria** led by the princes of **Qadesh** and **Megiddo**. The **battle** is reported in the king's **annals** in the temple at Karnak and the text of a stela from Gebel Barkal. The annals report the council in which the generals propose that the army should use one of the longer routes, but the pharaoh chose the narrow road through the Aruna pass, which gave an element of surprise. The army defeated the enemy **chariot** force outside the city, but a seven-month siege followed. This included building a **wall**, using timber from felled orchards, and digging a ditch, the whole called "Menkheperre encircler of the Asiatics." The city's fields were harvested and some given to the soldiers. The annals detail the captures of people and goods. This included 924

chariots, some decorated with gold; **horses**; coats of mail; and 502 **bows**. During the siege, 103 people came out of the city because of hunger and were pardoned.

MEGIDDO, BATTLE (609 BC). On their way to confront the army of **Babylon at Carchemish**, the Egyptian forces of **Nekau II** engaged Josiah, king of **Judah**, at Megiddo. The biblical record (2 Kings 23:29–30; 2 Chron. 35:20–24) states that Josiah was killed by Egyptian **archers**, but it is unclear whether this was on the field of battle or whether he was executed at Nekau's order.

MEINARTI. Island at the Second **Cataract**, thought to be the site of a **fortress**. Meinarti stands between **Dorginarti** and **Buhen**. The extensive remains included quantities of Ptolemaic–Roman pottery. The site itself might be of New Kingdom date, but there are few signs to indicate a Middle Kingdom structure.

MEMPHIS. (Greek form of the Egyptian *Men-nofer*.) One of the principal administrative and royal residence cities of Egypt, its foundation, as the **fortress**, *Inbu-hedj*, the White Walls, or the White Fortress, is one of the events associated with the establishment of the united Egyptian state at the beginning of the First Dynasty. Its importance must have made Memphis a focus for military attention in times of **civil war**, **dynastic war**, and foreign invasion, although only a few specific sieges and battles are documented, and all belong to the later periods.

The largest number of records of sieges and attacks on the city belong to the troubled late-Libyan and Kushite periods (24th–26th Dynasties, ca. 750–650 BC). The forces of the Saite ruler **Tefnakht** occupied Memphis during his march south into Middle Egypt. Tefnakht stocked the city with supplies, garrisoned it with his best troops, and ensured that the **walls** were strong. Following his siege of Hermopolis (**Khmunu**) and relief of **Herakleopolis**, the Kushite king **Piye** advanced on Memphis. The narrative of Piye's "Victory Stela" claims that the king's generals suggested different methods of taking the city, but Piye's own was followed with success. This involved breaching the walls where they came close to the waterways by sailing ships up to them and using the masts as **scaling ladders**. Later in the 25th Dynasty, in the reign of **Taharqo**, the king of **Assyria**, **Esarhaddon**, captured the city and looted it. Taharqo's successor, **Tanwetamani**, regained control of the city, possibly following a **battle** there with the ruler of **Sau**, **Nekau I**.

Memphis was captured by the Great King of Persia, **Cambyses**, and was attacked in the anti-Persian revolt of **Inaros**. The Macedonian adventurer, **Amyntas**, gained a temporary victory over the Persian satrap outside the city but failed to take it. Memphis ceded its role as premier city to

Alexandria and as a strategic point for controlling the **Delta** to the fortress of **Babylon**.

Far less survives of the monuments of Memphis than of **Thebes**, but there are fragments of relief sculpture relating to military matters from the pyramid complexes of Old Kingdom pharaohs and New Kingdom military officials buried in the vast necropolis of **Saqqara**.

MENES. *See* MENI.

MENI. According to the Egyptian king lists, Meni (in Greek: Menes) was the founder of the united Egyptian state and **Memphis**. Egyptologists have identified Meni with **Narmer**, but he could be a legendary figure combining a number of early kings.

MENTHUHOTEP II NEBHEPETRE (reigned c. 2055–2004 BC). Local ruler of **Thebes** who reunited Egypt circa 2040 BC. He is recognized as the founder of the Middle Kingdom. In ancient king lists, he appears with **Meni** and **Ahmose I** as one of the three founders or re-founders of the Egyptian state. The reunification of Egypt, built on the campaigns of his predecessors Intef I and Intef II, took 40 years and culminated in his defeat of the rulers of **Herakleopolis**. He also led campaigns into **Nubia**, **Sinai**, and against the **Libyans**. He was perhaps responsible for the first stages of **fortress** building at **Buhen** and the Second **Cataract**, and defenses at **Nekhen** and Gebel Silsila. In one of the king's campaigns, a large number of his soldiers were killed and taken back to Thebes, where 60 of them were buried in a communal tomb. The bodies had wounds, which showed that cause of death in most cases was by **arrows**, and suggested that the soldiers had lost their lives in an attack on a walled town or fortress. Some of the bodies had suffered postmortem scavenging by vultures. The decoration of the temple attached to his burial place at Deir el-Bahari (western Thebes) included **battle scenes**, unfortunately, mostly very fragmentary and without surviving inscriptions. The fragments include figures of slaughtered Libyans, bowmen with feathers in their hair (either Libyan or from Sinai), and captive Syrian women with their children in baskets on their backs. A broken piece of text refers to the Amu and Mentju, generalized and archaic terms for the peoples of Sinai and southern **Canaan**.

MERCENARIES. There is evidence for mercenary troops at all periods of Egyptian history from the First Intermediate Period onward, and it is reasonable to assume that they played a part even earlier. The best-documented early mercenaries are the Nubian troops attested from **Gebelein** and Middle Egypt. In the New Kingdom, use of mercenary troops seems to have increased, even though there was a larger standing **army**. A fragmentary papyrus of later 18th Dynasty date seems to show Mycenaeans, who might be mercenaries. There is more explicit evidence

for various groups from western Asia and **Libyans**; these include the **Shekelesh**, **Shardana**, and **Peleset**. Nubians continued to figure prominently, too. Some of these mercenaries were granted land as **veterans**, notably in the southern **Fayum** (mainly Asiatics) and Middle Egypt (the Shardana).

From the 26th Dynasty onward, Egypt received more troops from the Greek world. **Psamtik I** employed Carians, Lydians, and Ionian Greeks, and **garrisons** were established at Tell Dafana (**Daphnae**) and **Naukratis**. Names of Greek mercenaries from various towns in western Asia Minor are carved on the colossi at Abu Simbel recording the campaign of **Psamtik II** into **Nubia**. The independence movements against the rule of Persia brought larger Greek armies to Egypt, **Athens** lending support to **Inaros**. Later, an army led by Agesilaos, King of **Sparta**, played a decisive role in the **dynastic war** that brought **Nakhthorheb** to the throne. Also from the Persian period, a large archive of papyri discovered on **Abu** (Elephantine) records the affairs of the garrison, mostly **Jews** and other western Asiatics, this time employed by the Persian authorities. The large standing army of the first Ptolemies was made up of Greek or Macedonian mercenaries, but after the battle of **Raphia** (217 BC), many more Egyptians were enrolled. Jews, too, appear in the army from the time of **Ptolemy VI**. The **Gauls** were another group employed, notably by **Ptolemy II**.

MERENPTAH (reigned c. 1212–1202 BC). Pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty, son and successor of **Ramesses II**. There are two major military actions documented in this reign. The **Libyan War** of year 5 was provoked by an invasion of the **Libu**. They were accompanied by groups of the **Meshwesh**, **Seped**, and “**Sea Peoples**,” the last probably as **mercenaries**. The conflict is recorded on the **Israel Stela**. The Libyan invasion was apparently intended to coincide with a **rebellion** in **Nubia**, which was suppressed. The Libyans, driven by famine, were entering Egypt from the west. The Ramesside **fortresses** at **Zawiyat Umm el-Rakham** and **Alamein** had either ceased to function by this time or were unable to withstand the eastward movement of Libyans. Although not documented, there must also have been military activities in Palestine preceding the king’s fifth year. The paean at the end of the Israel Stela suggests that the Egyptians had regained control over Canaan, Ashkelon, Gezer, Yanoam, and Israel.

MEROE. City and kingdom of **Kush**, situated on the banks of the Nile in the central Sudanese savannah. The earliest archaeological evidence from the site belongs to the early first millennium BC, but it is likely that there was an important center at, or near, Meroe, from much earlier.

Meroe’s history is conventionally divided into two historical phases “**Napatan**” (c. 1000–300 BC) and “**Meroitic**” (c. 300 BC–c. 400 AD) after the two principal cities, **Napata** and Meroe.

The early Meroitic state (called variously *Napatan*, *Kingdom of Kush*, or *Kurru kingdom*) conquered Egypt in the mid-seventh century BC in the reign of **Kashta**. His successors, **Piye**, **Shabako**, **Shebitqo**, and **Taharqo** ruled there (as the 25th Dynasty) until the Assyrian invasions and rise of **Sau** under **Psamtik I** forced a Kushite withdrawal in the reign of **Tanwetamani**. The Napatan kingdom continued, and its end is marked by the last burial, that of **Nastasen**, in the pyramid cemetery at Nuri, near Napata. Although a fairly full sequence of rulers is known, relatively few historical events can be placed in the period between 650 and 320 BC. The army of **Psamtik II**, including Greek and Carian **mercenaries**, invaded in 593 BC, fighting at **Pnubs** and perhaps sacking Napata. There is evidence from Herodotos, and circumstantially from Meroe, that Kushites were serving in the army of the Great King of Persia, which attacked Greece in the reign of Xerxes. Inscriptions of later Napatan kings, written in Egyptian hieroglyphic, record their military actions against various **desert-dwelling** groups who threatened the settlements of the Third-Fourth **Cataract** region, and, occasionally, Meroe itself. Of these, the most important are the inscriptions of **Harsiyotef** and **Nastasen**, both of whom led their armies into Lower **Nubia**, as far as the Egyptian frontier at **Aswan**. **Nastasen** confronted an opponent named **Kambasuden**, who was incorrectly identified by some scholars with the Egyptian native ruler **Khabbash**.

There were doubtless military actions on the Egyptian–Meroitic frontier in the early Ptolemaic period, although the activities of **Ptolemy II** seem to have been essentially peaceful and to have reopened extensive trade. There is some indication of Kushite, if not specifically Meroite, support for the rebellion of **Haronnophris** and **Chaonnophris** in the Thebaid in the reigns of **Ptolemy IV** and **V**. Meroitic expansion in Lower Nubia might have caused conflict in the reign of **Ptolemy VI**. Following the Roman annexation of Egypt in 30 BC, the Romans apparently tried to install a client king (*tyrannos*) in the **Dodekaschoinos**. This failed. In 25 BC, the **prefect**, Aelius Gallus, launched an expedition to Arabia, taking nearly half of the forces stationed in Egypt. A new prefect, Caius **Petronius**, was installed. Shortly after, an armed Meroite force attacked the region of **Aswan** (including Philae and **Abu**). In the succeeding conflict, **Dakka** was the Meroite headquarters. The army was led by the **Kandake** (reigning queen, or queen mother), perhaps **Amanirenas**. The fortress of **Qasr Ibrim** was attacked. The Roman army led by Petronius claims to have marched as far as Napata. Peace was concluded at the treaty of Samos and the frontier was drawn at **Maharraqa** (Hiera Sykaminos). A peaceful period ensued with much trade in the first and second centuries AD.

The later third century witnessed the beginning of the various problems that contributed to the fragmentation of the Meroitic kingdom: the rise of Aksum; the incursions of the peoples from the surrounding regions into the Nile Valley, notably the **Noba** and the **Blemmyes**. The Blemmyes became a

major force in Lower Nubia and frequently raided into Upper Egypt. The emperor **Aurelian** had some successes against them, but **Diocletian** withdrew the frontier to Aswan. The Meroite kingdom finally fragmented sometime in the mid-fourth century.

MESHWESH. The most prominent tribe of the **Libyans** in the later New Kingdom. The name *Meshwesh* is later abbreviated to *Ma*. There were movements of different tribes of Libyans, often jointly, along the Mediterranean coast in the reigns of **Sety I** and **Ramesses II**. The Egyptians tried to accommodate small groups and settled the Meshwesh around Per-Bastet (Bubastis), employing them as **mercenaries**. Per-Bastet later became their main center. In the Third Intermediate Period, the Meshwesh dominated Lower Egypt. The hereditary chiefs, and great chiefs, of the Ma gained principalities in the eastern and central delta, but owed some allegiance to the pharaohs who ruled from Tanis and Bubastis. **Sheshonq I** was a great chief of the Ma before he became pharaoh. These great chiefs still figure prominently in the record of the conflict of **Piye** and **Tefnakht**, and in the conflicts between **Taharqo** and **Tanwetamani** and **Assyria**, but their power seems to have been curbed by **Psamtik I**, probably during the first decade of his reign.

MIGDOL. Semitic word for a fortified tower, which was adopted into the Egyptian language, probably early in the 18th Dynasty. It is found in a number of **fortress names** of the 19th and 20th Dynasties. It was specifically the name of the fortress at the archaeological site of Tell el-Heir. *Migdol* is also the term applied to the main Eastern Gate of the temple complex of **Medinet Habu** at Thebes.

MIGDOL (BATTLE 601 BC). Battle close to the frontier **fortress** of **Migdol** (Tell el-Heir) in which **Nekau II** opposed **Nebuchadnezzar II** king of **Babylon**. The battle is recorded by the *Babylonian Chronicle* and by the Greek Historian Herodotos (II.159). It took place in the month of **Kislev** (November–December) 601 BC. Nebuchadnezzar had advanced along the **Ways of Horus**, allowing Nekau to mobilize his troops and march to meet him. The battle seems to have been a stalemate. Nebuchadnezzar withdrew, but was pursued by Nekau, who recaptured **Gaza**. There were Greek **mercenaries** in Nekau's army. Following the campaign, the pharaoh dedicated his **armor** in the temple of Apollo at Didyma (south of Miletos in Ionia).

MIGDOL (TELL EL-HEIR). Frontier **fortress**, part of the network protecting Egypt's eastern **border**, between **Pelusion** and **Tjaru**. In the biblical book of Ezekiel (29:10 and 30:6) it is paired with Syene (**Aswan**) denoting the limits of Egypt. Following the sack of **Jerusalem** by the Babylonians, many **Jews** fled to Egypt, some taking up their residence in

Migdol, perhaps as **mercenaries**. Migdol was the site of a battle between the army of **Nekau II** and the invading forces of **Nebuchadnezzar II** king of **Babylon**. A medieval fortress was on the same site. Migdol has been identified by Eliezer Oren with the archaeological site “T.21,” which is one kilometer north of Tell el-Heir. It is square with a mud-brick enclosure wall 200 meters on each side and 15–20 meters wide.

MIRGISSA. Large **fortress** on the west bank of the Nile, near the foot of the Second Cataract. Mirgissa stands near one of the most difficult passages through the cataract and was one of a group of controlling forts. On the islands in the river were **Dabenarti**, **Meinarti**, and **Dorginarti**. It was part of a signaling network that connected with **Askut** and the forts at the head of the cataract. A slipway of timber, plaster, and mud allowed ships to be taken from the water and pulled around the most difficult part of the rapids. They could then sail to the supply depot at **Buhen**. The fortress is a large rectangular structure, sharing many features in common with the other contemporary forts in the region.

MITANNI. Hurrian kingdom of north Syria, usually called in Egyptian texts *Naharin*. The evidence for its political history, culture, and society is still very limited. Mitanni was Egypt’s main rival for control of north **Syria** in the 18th Dynasty, but was also a major source of **horses** and of the wood (elm and ash) and bark (birch) used in the manufacture of **chariots**. If not from Mitanni itself, these commodities came from the regions to its north.

The Hurrians occupied the far north of Syria and Mesopotamia probably from prehistoric times but did not become a political force until the Late Bronze Age. Earlier scholarship saw them as a migrating group from farther north or east that arrived in this region around the 17th/16th centuries BC. It was also suggested that the Mitannian kings were essentially leaders of an Indo-Iranian (Aryan) warrior aristocracy with a Hurrian subject population. As such, they were identified with the chariot-owning **mariyannu**. Many scholars now reject this view.

Archives from Nuzi (Yorghana Tepe) and Alalah (Mukish), both subject cities, shed some light on Mitanni’s political history. At times, Mitanni had control of Aleppo and Emar (Tell Meskene), **Assyria** (probably only briefly), Cilicia, and Ugarit on the Syrian coast. The main centers of the kingdom of Mitanni, Washshukanni, and Taide are known only from textual sources and have not been identified with archaeological sites. **Amenhotep I** and **Thutmose I** directed campaigns toward Mitanni and claimed to have left inscriptions on the banks of the Euphrates. The eighth campaign of **Thutmose III**, in year 33, was directed against Mitanni, and, according to the autobiographical inscription of **Amenemhab**, involved three battles. The evidence is richer from the reign of Saushtatar (c. 1430/1420), a contemporary of **Amenhotep II**, onward. The vassal-treaty of the later king

Shattiwaza states that Saushtatar had conquered Ashur in northern Mesopotamia, and other sources indicate that he controlled Nuzi and Alalah, Ugarit on the north Syrian coast, and Kizzuwadna (Cilicia).

One of the **Amarna Letters** details Egyptian–Mitannian relations, showing that from the time of **Thutmose IV**, the two powers had been allied through **diplomatic marriage**: Thutmose IV married the daughter of Artatama, his son **Amenhotep III** married first the daughter of Shuttarna and then the daughter of Tushratta.

Mitanni suffered at the hands of the rising power of the **Hittites**. Problems began with the reign of Tushratta, and the Hittites supported a rival claimant to the throne, Artatama II. The territory seized by Artatama II in the eastern part of Mitanni soon after fell into the hands of the Assyrians. The Hittite king, **Suppiluliuma I**, seized some of Mitanni's western territory and sacked Washshukanni. Tushratta was murdered by one of his sons and another son, Shattiwaza, fled to Suppiluliuma. The Hittite king now installed Shattiwaza as a vassal ruler in what was left of his kingdom and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. As allies of the Hittites, troops from Mitanni fought on the Hittite side in the battle of **Qadesh**. Hittite help was unable to prevent the rising power of Assyria completely absorbing the kingdom (1250 BC).

MIU. Territory of **Kush**. Miu's exact location is uncertain, although it seems probable that it lay in the Berber-Shendi Reach of the Nile, or perhaps in the Bayuda Desert. Miu is named in the inscriptions on the great rock at **Hagar el-Merwa**, near the Fifth Cataract, suggesting that its **border** (probably northern) lay nearby. Miu was important in the later 18th and 19th Dynasties. **Thutmose III** led his armies there in a show of strength and the pharaoh hunted a rhinoceros. The children of its rulers were sent to be raised at the Egyptian court.

MONTHU. Falcon-headed solar god closely associated with **Horus**. Monthu was identified with the warrior pharaoh from the Middle Kingdom, if not earlier. The falcon-headed sphinx (hieraco-sphinx or **griffon**) was also equated with Monthu. The pharaoh is often described as appearing as Monthu in battle and in hunting. On one of the ceremonial fans from his tomb, **Tutankhamun** is shown hunting ostriches, and on his return from the hunt, he has sprouted the wing plumes of Monthu. On the chariot of **Thutmose IV**, that pharaoh is shown with Monthu behind him in the chariot, guiding his arm as he looses his **bow** against the Asiatics. The image is intended to show the assimilation of the warrior pharaoh and god.

MUSICIANS. Military musicians are depicted accompanying religious festivals, such as the Opet at **Thebes** (e.g., in Luxor temple). These are trumpeters and Nubian drummers playing the large double-ended drum.

Trumpeters are seen with contingents of the **army** in the tombs of **Tjanuni** and **Horemheb** at Thebes. Trumpeters also appear with the army in scenes of the **battle** and **camp** at **Qadesh** and in the **Libyan Wars** of **Ramesses III** at **Medinet Habu**. Two such military trumpets were found in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. It seems that they were used to give a rhythmic code, probably on a single pitch. A Nubian playing the double-ended drum is also depicted in a military context in the tomb of Horemheb at Thebes.

MUWATALLI (reigned 1295–1271 BC). Great King of the **Hittites**. Under Muwatalli, the Hittites retained control of western Anatolia and perhaps increased it. The king also renewed the agreement with Aleppo. Hittite interests in north **Syria** had resulted in conflict with the Egyptians in the reigns of **Horemheb** and **Sety I**, often with the city of **Qadesh** as its focus. In the first years of his reign, **Ramesses II** sought to reassert Egyptian authority in the region, and Muwatalli retaliated. The culmination was the **battle** of Qadesh (1274 BC), which both sides claimed as a victory. It was Muwatalli, however, who was able to secure Qadesh and Amurru and to gain control of the Damascus area. *See also* QADESH, BATTLE OF (c. 1274 BC).

NAHARIN. The name frequently found in Egyptian texts for the Hurrian kingdom of **Mitanni** in north Syria. It is a West Semitic word meaning “river land.”

NAHR EL-KELB. The “Dog River” south of Byblos and 15 kilometers north of Beirut in Lebanon. Where the river enters the Mediterranean, it leaves only a narrow road, along which many ancient armies marched. The cliffs served as an ideal place for inscriptions, notably for Egypt, by **Ramesses II**, **Esarhaddon**, and **Nebuchadnezzar**.

NAKHTHORHEB (NECTANEBO II) (reigned 359/358–342/341 BC). Pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty. A grandson of **Nakhtnebef**, Nakhthorheb was serving as a military officer accompanying his uncle, the pharaoh **Djedhor**, on the Syrian campaign, when he was proclaimed pharaoh by his father, **Tjahepimu**, who had been left as regent in Egypt. Immediately, a rival claimant appeared in Mendes (perhaps a member of the family of **Hakor** of Dynasty 29). Nakhthorheb returned to Egypt, accompanied by Agesilaos, the King of **Sparta**, who was the leader of a Greek mercenary force, but the new pharaoh became besieged in a Delta town. The advice of Agesilaos led to the defeat of the rival claimant and ensured Nakhthorheb’s position.

In 351/50 BC, after an internal dynastic struggle, **Artaxerxes III** was sufficiently in control to lead an attack on Egypt. This failed, and as a result much of the Levant (and perhaps Asia Minor also) rebelled against Persian rule. However, in a second attempt in 343 BC, Egypt fell again to Persia and Nakhthorheb fled, reputedly to **Nubia**.

NAKHTNEBEF (NECTANEBO I) (reigned 379/378–362/361 BC). Pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty. Before his accession, Nakhtnebef was a general. A stela set up by the pharaoh at Hermopolis carries a veiled reference to a military coup. In 373 BC, **Artaxerxes II** sent an army commanded by Pharnabazos and an Athenian, Iphikrates (commander of Greek mercenaries), from Acre. Having failed to enter Egypt via **Pelusion**, they breached the Mendesian barrier. A dispute between the commanders gave Nakhtnebef the advantage and he was able to surround and besiege them. The Persians were then forced to retreat by the inundation.

NAPATA. **Fortress**, later town, in Upper **Nubia** in the region of Gebel Barkal near the foot of the Fourth **Cataract**. It is first referred to in the year 3 inscription of **Amenhotep II**, where it is stated the pharaoh had the body of an Asiatic prince hung from its walls as a warning to the Kushites. It is

generally assumed that Napata is to be identified with the fortress of **Semahkasut**, built by **Thutmose III** in the same region. To date, no archaeological remains can be associated with either. Napata was later used to designate the region that included the temples of **Amun** at Gebel Barkal, but most scholars have supposed that the townsite lay some distance away from the religious center, perhaps at Sanam Abu Dom. Napata was a major center of the kingdoms of **Kush** and **Meroe**. The town was one of the principal centers, and burial place, of the Kushite kings who conquered Egypt: **Kashta**, **Piye**, **Shabaqo**, **Shebitqo**, **Taharqo**, and **Tanwetamani**. Psamtik II might have sacked it during his campaign of 593 BC. After this, Meroe became the main royal residence, but the kings, such as **Harsiyotef**, were still crowned and buried at Napata until the death of **Nastasen**. The Roman emperor **Augustus** claims that Napata was destroyed during the campaign led by the **prefect, Petronius** (25 BC), although it seems unlikely that they advanced so far south.

NARMER (reigned c. 3100 BC). Narmer was the first pharaoh of the First Dynasty. The Narmer Palette, found at Hierakonpolis (**Nekhen**), shows the king wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt smiting a prisoner with a **mace**. A subscene shows two slain enemies and a rectangular **fortification**. On the obverse, the king, now wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt and preceded by standard bearers, approaches two rows of decapitated enemies. At the bottom of the palette, a small scene depicts the king as a **bull** crushing another enemy, its head lowered at the buttressed **wall** of another fortified structure. The whole group of scenes is usually interpreted as evidence for the unification of the two parts of Egypt: Narmer is the first pharaoh to be depicted with the crowns of both Upper and Lower Egypt. He is usually equated with the pharaoh **Meni** (Greek, Menes), who stands at the beginning of the Egyptian king-lists as the founder of the state, and of the city of **Memphis**.

NASTASEN (reigned mid-later fourth century BC). King of **Meroe**. His reign marks the end of the Napatan period in the history of **Nubia**. It is difficult to place Nastasen precisely. He left a large granite stela in the temple of **Amun** at Gebel Barkal (**Napata**) dated to his eighth year. The scene, which decorates the upper part, is in a style typical of the 30th Dynasty and early Ptolemaic period in Egypt. The text, in Egyptian hieroglyphic, records various military activities, the first apparently shortly after Nastasen's coronation at Napata. Nastasen confronted the army and ships of **Kambasuden**, somewhere in Lower Egypt. Earlier Egyptologists incorrectly identified Kambasuden with **Cambyses** and later with **Khabbash**. Neither is possible. The other actions are not dated and might have taken place in subsequent years. The army was sent against the "rebels" of Mekhindeqen(t) and captured its chief Iyoka. They also seized Laboden, chief of Rebala, and Ikalakaro, who was rich in gold and cattle (a

total of 806,323 is claimed in the text). Other razzias were directed against territories named Irrasa, Makhsherekhti, Mayoka, Sarasara, and Tamakheyti. The only places named that can be confidently located are Maha (certainly Abu Simbel) and Mediye (probably Medja). Nastasen might have taken advantage of the troubled situation in Egypt during the period from the end of the 30th Dynasty and reconquest by **Artaxerxes III** (343 BC) to the satrapy of **Ptolemy I** (323 BC) to gain some control of Lower Nubia.

NAUKRATIS. Delta town of 26th Dynasty date. A Greek trading colony, supposedly founded in the reign of **Ahmose II**, although archaeological evidence indicates it could have been earlier, perhaps under **Psamtik I**. It was suggested that the Great Temenos in the southern part of the site, with the massive brick structure inside it, known as the *Great Mound*, might have been a military installation. This is similar in construction to other Late Period monuments, such as Tell Dafana (**Daphnae**), that had been identified as military installations. Recent research, however, proposes that the Great Mound is a temple complex of Ptolemaic date.

NAVY. The river was the main transport route in Egypt and the association of boats with military action is found in art works from the Pre-dynastic Period onward. Among the earliest such depictions are the scenes in the Painted Tomb 100 at **Nekhen**, on the **Gebel el-Arak Knife**, and the rock inscription of **Djer** at Gebel Sheikh Suleiman in **Nubia**. In these cases, the ships were used for moving troops. This was generally the case with internal conflict in Egypt throughout the dynastic period. However, fighting from ships also took place. This is less well documented, but certainly was significant in the attacks by **Kamose** and **Ahmose** on the **Hyksos** capital of **Avaris** and in **Piye's** campaign though Middle Egypt. The record of Piye's war describes the method of his assault on **Memphis**, using the masts of the ships as **scaling ladders** for mounting the city **walls**.

The development of Egyptian sea-going ships might have been stimulated by contacts with western Asia, which was the main source of the timber used in such large vessels. The term *kebenet* derives from the name of the port of Byblos, Egypt's main Levantine trading partner. However, it is uncertain whether the vessel was an Asiatic type or whether the name alludes to the town as a source of timber. The **Amarna Letters** include one requesting the king of Alashiya (**Cyprus**) to build ships for the Egyptian navy.

Egyptian depictions of sea-going ships show little difference between cargo vessels and those used in war. The Egyptians used transport ships for taking the **army** to western Asia, thus avoiding the long **march** along the **Ways of Horus**. Scenes in the pyramid temple of **Sahure** at Abusir (Fifth Dynasty) show a sea-borne fleet being used to convey the army to **Syria**.

The inscription of Weni (Sixth Dynasty) similarly refers to troops being taken to Palestine by ship. Several of the major campaigns of **Thutmose III** in northern Syria involved the army being taken by ship to one of the ports, Byblos or Sumur, which were developed as Egyptian bases. Farther south, **Gaza** and **Joppa** were important Egyptian-controlled ports.

Egyptian action in Nubia exploited the Nile route, despite the difficulties for navigation posed by the **cataracts**. Rock drawings of Egyptian vessels are found in the region of the Second Cataract in the Predynastic Period, although there are no indications that these were used for military, rather than trading, purposes. At the beginning of the Old Kingdom, however, the Egyptians were taking their armies by boat into Nubia, as is shown by the Gebel Sheikh Suleiman inscription. The fleet was certainly important in the wars of **Senusret I** and **Amenemhat I**, which extended Egyptian rule over Lower Nubia. A rock inscription of Inyotefiqer tells how he sailed through Lower Nubia in his flagship “the Great Oar,” slaughtering the population, seizing the harvest, and cutting down the trees.

The pharaohs of the early 18th Dynasty also used the fleet in their Nubian campaigns. **Ahmose son of Ebana** tells how he was on the royal flagship taking Thutmose I in his attack on **Kerma** and of his bravery in the pharaoh’s presence when the ship was towed through the cataract.

Although there was fighting of sorts from ships, perhaps using **archers** in attacks on towns such as Avaris, the first predominantly naval battle recorded is that of **Ramesses III** against the **Sea Peoples**. This engagement is depicted in a series of large reliefs on the north external wall of the pharaoh’s temple at **Medinet Habu**. The ships used by Ramesses III’s navy do have some structural developments, such as long, low hulls with raised bulwarks to protect the rowers and a raised gangway so that the whole length of the ship could be used as a fighting platform by marines running its length. These could be Egyptian developments and are not necessarily a foreign influence. Some of the ships have prows with large figureheads in the form of a roaring lion’s head, but they are not early examples of battering rams: the construction of the ships is conventional, and they could not have withstood ramming.

There were certainly significant changes in naval warfare in the Late Period. This was the culmination of a period of considerable naval development and maritime expansion by the Phoenicians and Greeks, and Egypt was itself focused on its Mediterranean coast. During the Late Period, Egypt developed strong contacts with the Greek world, notably through the foundation of the trading center of **Naukratis**. The introduction of the Greek **trireme** has been attributed to the 26th Dynasty, although some authorities think that it was not used in Egypt until Ptolemaic times. The dispute centers on the terminology and meaning of *kebenet-vessels*. **Nekau II** reputedly engaged a Phoenician fleet to circumnavigate Africa and began the **canal** through the **Wadi Tumilat** connecting the Nile with

the Red Sea.

The invasion of Egypt by **Cambyses**, the king of **Persia**, in 525 BC, included a large Phoenician fleet. In the later conflicts between Persia and the Greek city states, naval battles became common, the first taking place at the island of Salamis, near **Athens**. A much larger type of warship, the **quinquereme**, was now developed and became the characteristic vessel of the Hellenistic navy. The “Satrap Stela” of **Ptolemy I** records that the king brought ships from Phoenicia, but after 200 BC, none of Egypt’s warships were Phoenician built, or built of Phoenician wood, the region being under the control of the **Seleukids**. The timber Egypt used for ships now came mainly from its own possession, **Cyprus**.

Ptolemy I and **Ptolemy II** gained control of most of the east Mediterranean, making Egypt, for the first time, a major naval power. They acquired significant naval bases throughout the Aegean and along the Ionian and Asiatic coastline, and even on mainland Greece. Egypt’s naval hegemony came to an end late in the reign of Ptolemy II with considerable losses in the Second **Syrian War** and defeat at the battle of **Kos** (c. 255 BC). Another naval defeat, that of Marcus **Antonius** and **Kleopatra VII** at the battle of **Aktion**, led to the fall of Egypt to the Romans under **Augustus**. The presence at Aktion of the Ptolemaic fleet of quinqueremes is suggested to have been a contributory factor in the defeat.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II (reigned 604–562 BC). King of **Babylon**. As crown prince, Nebuchadnezzar led the Babylonian army to victory over the Egyptian forces of **Nekau II**, which had established themselves in **Carchemish** (605 BC) and gained a further victory over the retreating army near Hamath. His father, Nabopolassar, died during the campaign and Nebuchadnezzar had to return to Babylon to ensure his own succession. In the following decade, eight out his nine campaigns were in western Asia, to prevent Egypt regaining a position. In 601 BC, he took his army as far as the Egyptian frontier, where a battle at **Migdol** resulted in heavy losses for both sides. A **peace treaty** might have established the frontier between the two powers at the **Brook-of-Egypt**. Nebuchadnezzar ousted those Levantine rulers who had Egyptian support, captured **Jerusalem**, and deposed Jehoiachin (598/97 BC) without any Egyptian intervention. A fragment of an Aramaic letter, discovered at **Saqqara**, is from one of the Levantine princes seeking military aid from Egypt. **Wahibre** gained Nebuchadnezzar’s assistance in an attempt to restore him to his throne but was killed during the campaign.

NECHO. *See* NEKAU.

NECTANEBO I. *See* NAKHTNEBEF.

NECTANEBO II. *See* NAKHTHORHEB.

NEFAARUD I (reigned 399/398–394/393 BC). Pharaoh of the 29th Dynasty. In 396 BC, Agesilaos, king of **Sparta** sought an alliance, but this was refused. However, the following year, Nefaarud supplied the Spartan fleet, which was at Rhodes, with equipment for 100 **triremes** and 500,000 measures of corn. These fell into the hands of the Persian commander, Konon.

NEFRUSY. Town or **fortress** in Middle Egypt, near **Khmunu** (Hermopolis). The precise location of Nefrusy is uncertain, but it appears to have controlled access from the north or south to Khmunu. It figures twice in accounts of military activities in Middle Egypt. During the Second Intermediate Period, the **Hyksos** rulers of **Avaris** controlled the Nile Valley as far as the territory of Khmunu. The inscriptions of **Kamose** recounting his wars with the Hyksos begin with the Theban advance north into the region of Khmunu. Kamose states that he sent his **Madjoy** troops to besiege “Teti son of Pepi” and his Hyksos force within Nefrusy. Teti was presumably a local vassal (perhaps the ruler of Khmunu itself) of the Hyksos. In the late Libyan period, the pharaoh **Nimlot** ruled Khmunu as a vassal of the Kushite king, **Piye**. With the advance of Tefankht of **Sau** and his coalition army, Nimlot defected and had the walls of Nefrusy pulled down. This suggests that the town was a defensive one controlling access to Khmunu.

NEKAU I (reigned c. 676–664). Ruler of **Sau** in the western **Delta**. He is assumed to have been a descendant of the earlier Saite rulers, **Tefnakht** and **Bakenranef**, who opposed Kushite expansion into Egypt. Nekau might have been installed as an Assyrian vassal by **Esarhaddon**. The list of Egyptian rulers from the beginning of the reign of **Assurbanipal** calls him king of Sau and “Mimpi” (**Memphis**). He was usually an ally of the Assyrians but joined with Sharruludari and Pekrur in seeking help from **Taharqo** in their **rebellion**. Following their defeat, Nekau and the other Delta dynasts were taken to Nineveh, but unlike them (many of whom were executed), he was sent back to Sau, and his son **Psamtik I** set up as ruler of Athribis (Huthery-ib). Nekau was defeated, and probably killed, in battle with Taharqo’s successor, **Tanwetamani**.

NEKAU II (reigned 610–595 BC). Pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty, son of **Psamtik I**. Shortly after his accession, Nekau continued the campaign initiated by Psamtik I in western Asia. The biblical Book of Kings (2 Kings 23:29–35) records Nekau’s interference in the affairs of **Judah** and the immense power he was able to exert in western Asia. Leading his army to the aid of Ashur-uballit II, king of **Assyria**, Nekau killed Josiah of Judah en route at the battle of **Megiddo (609 BC)**. Josiah was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz, but three months later, Nekau replaced him with his brother Jehoiakim. Jehoahaz was taken to Egypt and Judah forced to pay tribute.

The collapse of the Assyrian empire had created a power-vacuum in western Asia, and Nekau clearly tried to take advantage of this. In 606 BC, the Egyptian army besieged Kimuhu, near **Carchemish**; later the same year, the Babylonian forces were defeated at Quramati. The Egyptians were, however, defeated by the Babylonians, led by Crown Prince **Nebuchadnezzar** at Carchemish in 605. He then defeated a second Egyptian army at Hamath.

The death of Nabopolassar and accession of Nebuchadnezzar II brought a brief respite for Egypt, while the new king consolidated his power in Babylonia. Nebuchadnezzar launched his attack on Egypt in 601 BC. There was a battle close to the fortress of **Migdol**, but there were heavy casualties on both sides and the Babylonians withdrew. Nekau followed the Babylonian retreat and was able to recapture **Gaza**. Following the confrontation, Nekau dedicated his **armor** in the temple of Apollo at Didyma, on the Ionian coast of Asia Minor. It seems likely that Nekau had employed **mercenaries** from this region. The continued activity of the Babylonian armies in western Asia deterred Nekau from further campaigns.

In the later part of his reign, Nekau probably launched an expedition against **Kush**. A fragmentary inscription from **Aswan** refers to a fleet sailing into **Nubia**. One can only speculate that the Kushite kings had taken advantage of Nekau's Asiatic ambitions to make advances into Lower Nubia, or even Upper Egypt. Apart from some follow-up campaigns by his successor **Psamtik II**, Nekau's reign marks the final attempt by the 26th Dynasty pharaohs to rebuild Egypt's old empire and influence in western Asia. Nekau's considerable successes were finally frustrated by the military superiority of the Babylonians. Nekau is also supposed to have commissioned a Phoenician fleet to circumnavigate Africa. Further naval interests are shown by the cutting of the **canal** along the **Wadi Tumilat** to the Red Sea. The canal, which might not have been completed, added a further defense on the eastern **border**, with the fortress at Tell el-**Maskhuta**. The canal was enlarged by **Darius I**.

NEKHEB. Town on the east bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, the archaeological site of el-Kab. It stands opposite **Nekhen**. It has massive defensive **walls** of mud brick, 540 meters by 570 meters and 12 meters thick. The walls have no corner towers or bastions and are built using the pan-bedding technique, to give stability. The date of the walls is uncertain and various dates have been proposed. They could have been an early Third Intermediate Period defense, marking Nekhebe as the southern border of the territory of **Thebes** and paralleling **Teudjoi** in the north. It has also been suggested that the walls were built during the reign of **Taharqo**—as a defensive measure against the high Nile flood (the site stands within the flood plain)—or in the reign of Nekhthorheb. The tombs of the early 18th Dynasty carry the important autobiographical inscriptions of **Ahmosé son**

of **Ebana** and **Ahmose-Pen-Nekhet**, who took part in the campaigns of **Ahmose I** against the **Hyksos**, and those of **Amenhotep I** and **Thutmose I**.

NEKHEN (HIERAKONPOLIS). Town on the west bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, the modern archaeological site of Kom el-Ahmar. In the Predynastic Period, Nekhen was the seat of the earliest kings of Upper Egypt. Excavations here produced some important monuments of the period of the unification of Egypt, such as the **mace** of King “Scorpion” and the **Narmer Palette**, with its scenes of conquest. The Predynastic Painted Tomb 100 has some of the earliest scenes of conflict.

At the entrance to a wadi is a large rectangular defensive enclosure of the reign of **Khasekhemwy**. Similar to the **Shunet el-Zebib** at Abydos, it was thought by earlier archaeologists to be a **fortress**. The enclosure has outer and inner walls, originally plastered and painted white, 2.34 meters and 4.87 meters thick respectively. The walls, which were niched, survive to a height of 11.0 meters. It is now thought that the structure, like the Shunet el-Zebib, was a valley temple for a royal burial or cenotaph situated farther along the wadi. Nevertheless, just as the architecture of comparable New Kingdom temple enclosures (such as **Medinet Habu**) resembled contemporary military installations, the Khasekhemwy enclosure must be similar to early defensive structures.

Nekhen was defended by **Menthuhotep II** during the troubles that led to the reunification of Egypt at the end of the First Intermediate Period. There is no later evidence for a military role for the town.

NIMLOT (fl. 720 BC). Local ruler of **Khmunu** (Hermopolis), who assumed full pharaonic style. He was an ally of the Kushite king and ruler of Upper Egypt, **Piye**, but changed his allegiance when **Tefnakht**, ruler of **Sau**, advanced with his army into Middle Egypt. Nimlot had the **walls** of an outlying town, **Nefrusy**, pulled down to show Tefnakht that he was not hostile to him. Nimlot was later besieged within Khmunu by Piye and his army. After his capitulation, Nimlot was chastised for the treatment of his **horses** during the **siege**. It is unclear whether this is the same Nimlot who is referred to in the Assyrian list of the rulers of Egypt in 667 as “Lamintu” of Khmunu. Most Egyptologists have assumed that he was a successor (perhaps grandson) of Piye’s ally.

NINE BOWS. The “Nine Bows” signified the traditional enemies of Egypt. In Egyptian, three is the plural, and nine is a usual way of indicating plurality. The enemies were peoples of **Nubia**, **Libya**, the **deserts**, and western Asia. The nine bows were used as a motif on the pharaoh’s footstool so that he could sit with his enemies beneath his feet. The motif also appears painted onto the floors, across which the pharaoh might walk, and on his sandals. The bows could be rendered in human form as the

actual enemies, with their arms bound behind their backs.

NIY. Locality in **Syria**, probably in the northern part of the Orontes Valley. A very damaged text refers to Upper Retenu, Niy, and **elephants**. This can probably be ascribed to the reign of **Thutmose I** and was perhaps associated with the pharaoh's expedition to **Naharin**. It was a precursor of **Thutmose III**'s expedition of year 33 when that pharaoh also hunted elephants in Niy, an event also recorded by **Amenemhab**.

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. A Roman record of all of the civil and military offices of the empire as they were in 395 AD, preserved in four later copies. The surviving versions are more detailed for the western than the eastern empire. The *Notitia* contains details of the units commanded by the generals and the forts. It thus provides a valuable source for the military in Egypt in the later Roman Empire. There were major units (Legions) at some of the key strategic points, such as **Memphis**, **Babylon**, and Koptos. It shows an increase in troops stationed in Lower Egypt, perhaps against invasion from the east (**Rhinocolura**, **Pelusion**, Busiris, Naithu). The units in southern Upper Egypt were clearly a defense against the **Blemmyes**. They were placed at Philae (First **Cataract**), **Aswan** and **Abu** (Elephantine), Silsila, and Kom Ombo. Alae (**cavalry** units) were stationed in both **Kharga Oasis** and **Dakhla Oasis** in the Western **Desert**. Units were stationed throughout Upper Egypt (e.g., **Thebes**, Hermonthis [Armant], Abydos), Middle Egypt (Speos Artemidos, Thmou, Kusas), and the **Fayum** (Narmouthis, Arsinoe, **Dionysias**). See also **Army, Roman period**.

NUBIA. The region immediately to the south of Egypt, stretching from the First to the Fourth **Cataracts**. It is divided into two parts, Lower Nubia being the region from the First to Second Cataracts and Upper Nubia from the Second to Fourth. Numerous names are employed for the whole region and its parts, reflecting internal political changes throughout the 3,000 years of relations. Egyptian military action in Nubia is first documented in the First Dynasty, in the reign of **Djer**. Other campaigns followed in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, which appear to have forced the small settled population to take up a nomadic lifestyle in the surrounding regions. A major campaign is known from the reign of **Sneferu**, but this might have been directed south of the Second Cataract. The evidence from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties shows that a settled population had returned to Lower Nubia and that there were three principal "chiefdoms" there. These are named in texts as: **Wawat**, Irjet, and Satju. Another Nubian "chiefdom" was Yam, which lay south of the Second Cataract, but its exact location is still disputed.

The internal problems of Egypt during the First Intermediate Period allowed the Nubian states to develop without external interference. During this period there is considerable evidence for Nubian **mercenaries** being

employed by the local rulers of Egypt. A particularly large body of evidence for them comes from **Gebelein**, in southern Upper Egypt. By the early Middle Kingdom, the Upper Nubian principalities of **Kush** and **Shaat (Sai)** had emerged, and Lower Nubia was perhaps united under one ruler who assumed a pharaonic style.

The first of a new series of Egyptian campaigns in Nubia was led by the ruler of **Thebes**, **Menthuhotep II**, who might also have established some of the **fortresses** that became important in the 12th Dynasty. The first rulers of the 12th Dynasty, **Amenemhat I** and **Senusret I**, campaigned extensively in Nubia, reducing the whole territory as far as the Second Cataract. They protected their new southern **border** with fortresses at **Askut**, **Buhen**, **Kumma**, **Mirgissa**, **Semna**, **Shalfak**, and **Uronarti**, and others at the strategic points of **Aniba** and **Quban** farther north. In the 13th Dynasty, Egypt again fragmented, and control of Lower Nubia was lost to the Kushite kingdom of **Kerma**. Some of the fortresses suffered damage by fire. The Kerma kings established **garrisons** in some of the fortresses and there is evidence that there were Egyptian commanders working for the Kushites.

At the end of the Second Intermediate Period, it was again the princes of Thebes who moved to reunite Egypt. Before attacking the **Hyksos** in the **Delta**, they set about securing control of Lower Nubia. It is possible that **Tao II** led a campaign, but there is clearer evidence from the reigns of **Kamose** and **Ahmose I**. The autobiographical inscription of **Ahmose son of Ebana** records the defeat of **Aata**, who might have been a local ruler in Lower Nubia. Ahmose I led his army south of the Second Cataract, defeated the ruler of Shaat, and established a new fortress on the island of Sai. Further military actions by **Thutmose I** established firm Egyptian control over Lower Nubia and destroyed Kerma. These were followed up in the joint reign of **Hatshepsut** and **Thutmose III**, but Upper Nubia south of the Third Cataract retained its independence until the sole reign of Thutmose III, who established his new border at the Fourth Cataract.

There were few major military actions in Nubia in the later 18th Dynasty. The indications are that the campaigns of the reigns of **Akhenaten**, **Amenhotep II**, **Amenhotep III**, and **Thutmose IV** were directed against the peoples of the Eastern Desert, rather than the Nile Valley. Further campaigns are known from the reign of **Tutankhamun**, recorded by reliefs in the chapel at Gebel Silsila and the Memphite tomb of **Horemheb**.

In the New Kingdom, the whole of Nubia as far as the Fourth Cataract was brought under Egyptian control and placed under the authority of the **viceroy of Kush**, and the Overseer of Bowmen of Kush, and divided into two provinces, Wawat and Kush. In addition, there were many other principalities, some of them within the viceregal domain and others outside. Of these, the most significant were **Irem** and **Miu**. The location of both is uncertain, but current opinion suggests that they lay outside the Egyptian-

controlled provinces of the Nile Valley, probably in the Berber-Shendi Reach of the river.

Egyptian control of Nubia appears to have remained fairly stable throughout most of the later New Kingdom. Military actions in the reigns of **Sety I** and his successor, **Ramesses II**, were directed against Irem. The reign of **Merenptah** saw a **rebellion** in Lower Nubia, apparently timed to coincide with an invasion by **Libyans**. Irem was again the principal threat in the reign of **Ramesses III**. The Egyptians abandoned Upper Nubia in the late 20th Dynasty, redrawing their border at the Second Cataract. In the reign of **Ramesses XI**, part of the army from Nubia was active in Thebes and Upper Egypt. This was followed by military conflict between the viceroy, Panehesy, and the general and controller of Upper Egypt, Paiankh, in Lower Nubia. The general historical circumstances, and the allegiances of the protagonists, remain obscure but are best characterized as **civil war**. The hill of **Qasr Ibrim** might have been fortified during this period. By the end of the civil war, and the death of Ramesses XI, Egypt appears to have lost control of the whole of Nubia.

Following the end of the 20th Dynasty is a period for which the archaeological evidence and historical reconstructions have become a subject of deep controversy. It is likely that there was a violent process of state formation. Some hint of the events is found in the inscription of **Karimala** at Semna. This alludes to rebellion against a Kushite king and civil war. The result was the emergence of a powerful, and apparently unified, state covering (eventually) the whole of the region from the Third Cataract into the central Sudanese savannah around **Meroe**. This kingdom conquered Egypt in the reigns of **Kashta** (c. 750–736 BC) and **Piye** (c. 736–712 BC) and ruled there until 656 BC (the 25th Dynasty). The last two decades saw the invasions of Egypt by the armies of **Assyria** (in the reigns of **Taharqo** and **Tanwetamani**). There were Egyptian invasions of Nubia in the reigns of **Nekau II**, **Psamtik II**, and, perhaps, **Cambyeses**. The Meroitic king **Harsiyotef** and **Nastasen** took their armies to Lower Nubia and as far as **Aswan**.

The Kushite kingdom continued until the fourth century AD. In the Ptolemaic period, the region between **Aswan** and the Second Cataract was more intensively cultivated and settlements increased. The northern part, from Aswan to **Maharraqa**, was administered by Egypt with the name **Dodekaschoinos**. For a period, this was extended even farther south, as the Triakontaschoinos, but was regained by Meroe. Following the fall of Egypt to the Romans under **Augustus** there was conflict between Meroe and the armies of the Roman **prefect**, first **Cornelius Gallus** then **Petronius**. Once a **peace treaty** between the two states was agreed, a period of prosperity began that lasted for the first two centuries of Roman rule in Egypt. The major Meroitic center in Lower Nubia was at **Faras** where the viceroy resided. Later, tensions increased with the appearance in the Nile Valley of

the **Blemmyes**. These are revealed in the increased number of units in southern Upper Egypt in the **Notitia Dignitatum** and conflict in the reign of the emperor **Aurelian**. Shortly after, the emperor **Diocletian** was forced to redraw the frontier at the First Cataract.

Nubia was at all times occupied by black peoples, generally referred to today as Kushites (to distinguish them from the modern Nubian-language speakers). In Egyptian texts, they can appear as Nehesyu and Iuntiu-Setiu, and more specifically according to their location, such as the **Madjoy** (peoples of the Eastern Desert). There were several documented movements of population into the Nile Valley (and probably many that are undocumented), notably those of the Noba and the Blemmyes.

NUKHASSE (NUKHASHSHE). Region of north **Syria**, east of the Orontes, between Aleppo and Qatna. It was significant in the Late Bronze Age, the Egyptian New Kingdom. The territory stood on the margins of Egyptian influence in north Syria. It was originally subject to the king of Aleppo but became a vassal of the kingdom of **Mitanni**.

The **Annals of Thutmose III** record the pharaoh's campaign against Mitanni in his year 33 and the following year's attack on Nukhasse. The **Amarna Letters** (EA 51) indicate that **Thutmose III** (or possibly, although less likely, **Thutmose IV**) set up an Egyptian vassal king in Nukhasse. The military expedition of year 7 of **Amenhotep II** crossed the Orontes, and although there was no pitched battle, the pharaoh ordered the **deportation** of 15,070 people of Nukhasse. In the reign of Tushratta of Mitanni, a dispute arose with the vassal king Sarrupsi, who then allegedly sought help from **Suppiluliuma**, King of the **Hittites**, who sent an army. There was a battle in which both Mitanni and the Hittites claimed victory, but the result was that Nukhasse became a Hittite vassal. However, Tushratta was able to send booty of a captured **chariot** to **Amenhotep III**, recorded in the Amarna Letters (EA 17). Other letters in the Amarna archive are from other kings of Nukhasse: Addu-nirari, Akizzi of Qatna, and Akiteship of **Niy**, who sought to become vassals of Egypt.

There was pressure on the coastal town of Ugarit, which then sought help from the Hittites. In response, Suppiluliuma and his armies invaded Nukhasse. The result was a Hittite claim on territories in north Syria and, ultimately, war with Egypt. Following the breakup of the Hittite Empire, the Nukhasse lands become part of what are known as the "Neo-Hittite" kingdoms.

OCTAVIAN. *See* AUGUSTUS.

OMENS AND ORACLES. The evidence for the use of omens and oracles in Egypt begins with the New Kingdom, but the practice could be considerably older. Oracles were used for official appointments, and some pharaohs attribute their elevation to the oracle of a god (usually **Amun**). **Hatshepsut** sought the oracular pronouncement of Amun on the best route for an expedition to **Punt**. The use of oracular consultation might therefore be expected in the context of warfare. There is, however, little direct evidence for it. Pharaohs state that a god (usually Amun) commanded them to “conquer” (as **Thutmose III** did); or they prayed to a god during battle (as **Ramesses II** did at **Qadesh**), but there is no reference to requests to oracles for advice on strategy or when to campaign. Generally, the conduct of war, and its successful outcome, was the responsibility of the pharaoh, even if he had divine aid. Whether, in practice, pharaohs did seek oracular advice is a different issue.

The evidence from **Assyria** during the Late Assyrian Empire (ninth-seventh centuries BC) is very different. A huge number of oracle and omen texts survive. These are mostly addressed to the sun-god Shamash and seek advice on the best time to launch a campaign; where it should be directed; and whether it would be successful. Very specific requests are common. The responses were mainly given through divination and examination of the entrails of sacrificed animals. An important group of detailed omen texts relates to the conduct of the war of **Esarhaddon** with **Taharquo**.

OSORKON (fl. c. 850–785 BC). High priest of **Amun** and crown prince, son of the pharaoh Takeloth II. A series of inscriptions carved during his pontificate records benefactions to the god, but also the violent suppression of unrest in **Khmunu** (Hermopolis) in Middle Egypt and in **Thebes**. The prince, who was also a general and Governor of the South, seems to have resided at the **fortress** of **Teudjoi** on the border of Upper and Lower Egypt.

The opponents Osorkon faced are never personalized, but are generally assumed to represent a **civil war** and appearance of a rival ruler in Thebes. The first **rebellion** was in year 11 of Takeloth II when the land “had fallen into turmoil.” Osorkon suppressed Khmunu before advancing on Thebes. The text states that various “irregularities” were judged and the guilty executed and burned. The “cataclysm” came in year 15 when the “children of rebellion . . . stirred up strife” in both south and north. This seems to have continued for several years. Osorkon went to Thebes in year 25 of his father’s reign, in a religious capacity, but renewed hostility broke out.

Events are now dated by the reign of Sheshonq III, which overlapped that of Takeloth II. After a long period in which nothing is recorded, Osorkon and his brother the general, Bakenptah, again appeared in Thebes and “overthrew everyone who fought against them.” This was in year 39 of Sheshonq III. Shortly after, Sheshonq III died, and, in all probability, the High Priest Osorkon now ascended the throne, as Osorkon III.

PALERMO STONE. The name given to fragments of a broken monument (or perhaps two similar monuments) of black basalt that recorded annals of the kings from the first to the fifth Dynasties. The largest fragment is in the Palermo Museum; with a further five fragments in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and one in the Petrie Museum at University College, London. Unfortunately, the monument is too badly damaged to provide a complete source for this early period of Egyptian history. There are references to military actions in the reign of **Sneferu** and some in reigns of kings who cannot be identified.

PANEHESY (fl. c. 1089–1069 BC). Viceroy of **Kush** in the reign of **Ramesses XI**. He brought troops from **Nubia** to **Thebes** to suppress some major civil disturbances. The events are recorded in a series of papyrus letters and official documents, which, as is so typical of Egyptian material, do not reveal the whole picture. Consequently, there are varying interpretations of the evidence. The arrival of Panehesy and his troops followed the “suppression” of the high priest of **Amun**, Amenhotep. There was considerable looting, notably at **Medinet Habu**, and most of the villagers resident there fled to the west bank. Panehesy held a series of trials and executed people.

At a later stage, Panehesy led the army farther north into Middle Egypt and perhaps into the **Delta**, where there was possibly a battle. It was probably during his absence in the north that some of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were violated. Panehesy is often assumed to have been working on behalf of the pharaoh, at least initially. However, he returned to Kush, and a new power appeared in Thebes, the General Herihor, who also assumed the titles of high priest of Amun and viceroy. A series of letters records a military action against Panehesy by Herihor’s successor, Paiankh. The army of Paiankh certainly established itself in the fortress of **Quban**, although Panehesy is assumed to have held **Aniba**, as his tomb was built there, and his name is undamaged. It may have been during this campaign that **Qasr Ibrim** was fortified. The outcome of the conflict is unknown. The return of Paiankh and his army to Thebes is recorded in the last year of Ramesses XI, but neither he nor Panehesy are attested afterward. A recent reordering of the relevant documents by Karl Jansen-Winkel places Paiankh before Herihor.

PANION (200 BC). Battle in the Fifth Syrian War between the armies of **Ptolemy V** and Antiochos III. The battle took place at Panion (later called *Caesarea Philippi*) at the northern end of the Golan Heights and the foot of

Mount Hermon, on a level site (the Banyas plateau) selected by Antiochos III. The Seleukid forces included **elephants**. The Ptolemaic army, commanded by Skopas, had regained control of Coele Syria, which had been seized by Antiochos the previous year and then marched north from **Jerusalem** through Galilee. An account of the battle was written by Polybius (16.18–19) allowing some reconstruction of the course of the battle, which, because of the topography, took place in two arenas. The Seleukids were ultimately victorious and Skopas retreated with 10,000 survivors to Sidon.

PAPREMIS (459 BC). The site of a **battle** in which the forces of the Egyptian prince **Inaros** clashed with those of the Persian satrap, Achaimenes, who was killed. Herodotos claims to have visited the site of the battle. Papremis is the Greek form of an Egyptian place-name (perhaps *Pa-pa-rem(wy)*) in the Delta. It has been identified with **Pelusion** at the entrance to the eastern Delta, but also with a site to the east of Damanhur in the western Delta.

PARAITONION. Frontier town, the modern Mersa Matruh. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, Paraitonion (Latin, Paraetionium) marked the **border** between Egypt and **Cyrenaica**. In the late New Kingdom, it seems to have served a similar function because close to Mersa Matruh is the Ramesside fortress of **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham**. The fort stands in a strategic position controlling the coastal routes. Mersa Matruh has a large natural harbor. Excavations on Bates's Island in the harbor have found evidence of trading contacts between vessels from **Cyprus** and Crete and the local **Libyans**. These can be dated to the late 18th Dynasty. Although there is no direct evidence, the town might have become significant in the Late Period, when contacts between Egypt and Cyrenaica intensified. **Alexander the Great** is reputed to have met with ambassadors from **Cyrene** here, while on his way to the Oasis of Siwa. The desert roads for Siwa leave the coast at this point. Paraitonion was occupied by the forces of Magas of Cyrene during his **rebellion** against **Ptolemy II**. Along with Cyrene, it returned to Egyptian control, and at some unknown point was protected by a city **wall**. Following the battle of **Aktion**, **Kleopatra VII** and **Antonius** landed here, and it was here that **Cornelius Gallus** destroyed the remainder of their fleet. The town was again occupied by Vespasian. In early Byzantine times, Paraitonion became the capital of the Eparchy of Lower Libya and was refortified by the emperor Justinian (reigned 527–565 AD).

PATHYRIS. Greek name for **Gebelein** in Upper Egypt, from the Egyptian Per-Hathor. Following the **rebellion** of **Haronnophris** and **Chaonnophris** in the reign of **Ptolemy V**, a military camp was established at Pathyris. It was a subdivision of the **hypoethron** of **Krokodilopolis**. A substantial papyrus archive records the family of a Greek cavalry officer, Dryton, who served here from circa 152 BC. The end of Pathyris as an important center

seems to be associated with the rebellion in **Thebes** suppressed by **Ptolemy IX Soter II** in his year 3 (88 BC). Pathyris and Apollonopolis Megale (Edfu) had remained loyal to the Ptolemies, but Pathyris was presumably captured by the rebels and then suppressed by Soter, after which it became subordinate to Hermonthis (Armant).

PEACE TREATY. Formal and legal documents of relations between states—actually between the rulers—are attested from the Late Bronze Age (New Kingdom) and probably began much earlier. The **Amarna Letters** refer to agreements made by the predecessors of **Amenhotep III** and **Akhenaten** with the kingdom of **Mitanni** and other territories of Syria and the Levant. Treaties made by the kings of the **Hittites** with various vassals survive, as do copies in both Akkadian and Egyptian hieroglyphic of the peace that followed the Egyptian–Hittite Wars of the reign of **Ramesses II**.

Many peace treaties (and other treaties) were formally ratified by **diplomatic marriage**. All forms of relationship in the Late Bronze Age (and probably into later times, as indicated by the Victory Stela of **Piye**) were regarded as lasting for only the lifetimes of the relevant parties: so the Amarna Letters seek to renew good relations on the death of Amenhotep III. The stela of **Kamose** records a letter from the **Hyksos** ruler of **Avaris** to the king of **Kush**, which asks why the new Kushite king had not written to him of his accession, and seeks to renew the relationship of the two countries. The stela of Piye ends with the oath of fealty sworn by **Tefnakht** in the temple of Neith in **Sau** in the presence of the chief lector priest and a general. This contains all of the elements of a written treaty and was equally binding in a similar way.

There are many examples of treaties between the kings of **Assyria**, notably **Esarhaddon**, and their vassals in western Asia. These contain threats of retribution and the invocation of numerous deities as guarantors. A formal treaty probably negotiated the transfer of power in **Thebes** from the Kushites to **Psamtik I**. This was sealed with the installation of the Princess Neitqert as heiress to the most powerful priestly office in the city. Numerous peace treaties tried to resolve the territorial disputes of the **diadochoi** and of the Ptolemies and **Seleukids**. A treaty was agreed on Samos between the representatives of **Meroe** and the emperor **Augustus**, following the conflict on the southern **border** and the military actions of **Cornelius Gallus** and **Petronius**.

PEDUBAST CYCLE. A series of stories preserved in papyrus documents written in the demotic script. The surviving texts date from the Ptolemaic–Roman periods but were set in the late Libyan period (seventh century BC). The stories refer to real historical figures, but also include influences from Greek mythology and heroic literature. Although the historical context is the time of the Kushite pharaohs and the invasions by the armies of **Assyria**

under **Esarhaddon**, there are anachronistic references to the Medes, Persia, and India betraying the later writing, or adaptation, of the cycle. The principal stories, in various degrees of preservation are: Inaros and the **Griffon**; The Contest for the benefice of **Amun**; The Contest for the breastplate of Inaros; Egyptians and Amazons; and Nanferkasokar and the Babylonians. The Greek influence is notable in episodes, such as the heroic single combat for the breastplate of Inaros, reflecting the contests in the *Iliad*.

PELESET. The Philistines. The Peleset appear as both enemies (with the **Sea Peoples**) and as **mercenaries** in the Egyptian army in the reign of **Ramesses III**. They are identified by their characteristic headdresses, which are perhaps made of horsehair. They were the people of the southwestern Asiatic coast, between **Gaza** and **Joppa**.

PELAST. Light skirmishing **infantry** of the Ptolemaic **army**. The term was originally used of Thracians, deriving from *pelta*, a small, light shield. The peltast's principal weapon was the javelin. The term is considerably less precise in the accounts of the Hellenistic period, and peltasts are often found included among the **phalanx**, indicating a different definition.

PELUSION (TELL EL FARAMA). Frontier **fortress** on the eastern **border**. Pelusion (Pelusium in Latin) was part of the chain of defenses that protected the access to Egypt along the *Via Maris* or **Ways of Horus**. It was once incorrectly identified with **Avaris** and Per-Ramesses, and its Egyptian name is unknown. It was the scene of battles when invading and Egyptian armies clashed. The well-documented invasions all belong to the later periods of Egyptian history. The armies of **Assyria** under **Esarhaddon** and **Ashurbanipal** passed this route on several occasions. There was conflict here when the Babylonian king **Nebuchadnezzar** attempted to restore **Wahibre**. The army of **Cambyzes** of Persia defeated that of **Psamtik III** at Pelusion in 525 BC, bringing Egypt into the Persian Empire. It was the site of further attempted Persian invasions by **Artaxerxes II** against **Nakhtnebef** in 373 BC, and by **Artaxerxes III** in 351/350 BC. Artaxerxes III's second invasion in 343 BC was successful, and the defeat of **Nakhthorheb** brought Egypt briefly back into the Persian Empire. The **garrison** yielded to the Macedonian adventurer, **Amyntas**, in 333 BC and to **Alexander the Great** the following year. Here, **Ptolemy I** fended off the invasion of **Antigonos I Monophthalmos** in 306 BC, but that of **Antiochos IV** in 169 BC was successful. The Roman general Marcus **Antonius** seized Pelusion when he and the **Gabinians** restored **Ptolemy XII** (Auletes) in 55 BC. In 47 BC, it was captured by Mithridates of Pergamon and his army, marching to join **Iulius Caesar** at the time of the **Alexandrian War** and conflict between **Ptolemy XIII** and **Kleopatra VII**. Pelusion appears in the Antonine Itinerary on the route Pelusion–Magdolo (**Migdol**)–Sile (**Tjaru**).

It has recently been the subject of archaeological survey and excavation.

PEPY II (reigned c. 2278–2184 BC). Pharaoh of the Sixth Dynasty, buried at Saqqara, near **Memphis**. The reliefs in his pyramid temple show him smiting a **Libyan** chief, but this is copied directly from the temple of **Sahure** at Abusir and cannot be considered “historical.” Other fragments of relief show the capture of cattle and refer to a raid against the people of the eastern **border**. Two kneeling limestone figures, probably from the temple, depict captives with their arms bound at the elbows behind their backs. The figures have no inscriptions and their ethnicity is not distinguished.

PETRONIUS, CAIUS (fl. 25–22 BC). Roman **prefect** of Egypt appointed by **Augustus** as successor to Aelius Gallus (Prefect 26–24 BC) when the latter was sent on an expedition to Arabia. Gallus took nearly half of the Roman force stationed in Egypt: about 8,000 of the 16,800 in the three legions and 5,500 auxiliary troops. An armed Meroite force attacked the region of **Aswan** shortly after Gallus’s departure. This might have been part of a local uprising against Roman rule in Lower **Nubia**. Statues of Augustus were pulled down and prisoners taken. The succeeding events are unclear, and the authority of the contemporary account of Strabo has been questioned. Strabo claims that Petronius led the Roman army into Nubia, reaching **Napata**. The king of **Meroe**, Teriteqas, seems to have led or sent military aid to the **rebellion**. Petronius apparently fortified **Qasr Ibrim** on his return northward, and this was held by the Romans until the events of 22 BC, when the Kandake (ruling **queen**) led the Meroite army northward. There seems to have been no conflict and a **peace treaty** was concluded at Samos the following year (21 BC).

PHALANX. The main **infantry** element of the Hellenistic army. It consisted of lines of soldiers with long pikes. The use of the long pike, the *sarissa*, was developed in Macedonia by Philip II and used with great effect by **Alexander the Great**. The *phalanx* continued to be the mainstay of his successors, notably the Ptolemies and **Seleukids**. Details of the equipment used by the *phalanx* are unclear, although it is thought that the long *sarissa* was favored: this could be six meters in length. The depth of the *phalanx* could be varied according to the numbers available and the nature of the site. The deeper the line, the more difficult it was to maneuver. At the battle of **Raphia**, **Ptolemy IV** had 45,000 infantry available and they were probably arranged in a *phalanx* 32 lines deep. The *phalanx* was generally placed at the center with the light infantry (such as **peltasts**) on the flanks and the **cavalry** on the wings.

PHILISTINES. See PELESET.

PIYE (reigned c. 736–712 BC). King of **Kush**, acknowledged as ruler of

Thebes and Upper Egypt. He was probably the immediate successor of **Kashta**, who had established Kushite control over Upper Egypt. The great “Victory Stela” of black granite (Cairo JE 48862), dated to Piye’s year 21, was discovered in the temple of **Amun** at Gebel Barkal (Sudan) in 1862. Carrying a text of 159 lines, it recounts the conflict between Piye and the coalition of princes led by **Tefnakht**, the ruler of the **Delta** city of **Sau**, and the **rebellion** of Piye’s vassal, **Nimlot** of **Khmunu** (Hermopolis). The inscription is an important record of the political geography of Egypt in the late Libyan period, and of the conduct of the campaign, with many references to sieges and pitched battles. Piye was in **Nubia** when the news of Nimlot’s advance southward was brought to him. At first he ordered his army based in Thebes to respond, but when they failed to defeat the coalition Piye took a second army to Egypt. Although Piye advanced north through Egypt, capturing the great cities of Khmunu, Ninsu (**Herakleopolis**), **Memphis**, and other smaller centers and **fortresses**, he did not defeat Tefnakht in a pitched battle. Piye received the submission of the four pharaohs, Nimlot, Osorkon, Iuput, and Peftjauawybast, and of all of the other Libyan dynasts at Hut-hery-ib (Athribis). From there, he launched an attack against Tefnakht, who sued for peace. Tefnakht swore his oath of fealty in the temple in Sau in the presence of the chief lector priest and a general. There was presumably a written **peace treaty** also.

The date of the war with Tefnakht within Piye’s reign is uncertain. Most earlier Egyptologists assumed that the Victory Stela was set up on Piye’s return to Napata, and that the campaign took place in the king’s regnal years 19 and 20. A number of factors suggest that the campaign might have been earlier, perhaps in year 4. Another stela from Gebel Barkal indicates that Piye had been active in Egypt prior to the campaign of Tefnakht, and it is certain that the Kushites were acknowledged as rulers of Thebes and Upper Egypt and maintained **garrisons** there.

PLATOON. An **army** unit of fifty men, comprising five squads, under a commanding officer called “the greatest of fifty.”

PNUBS. Town in **Kush**, south of the Third **Cataract**. Pnubs is named in texts from the time of **Piye** and the 25th Dynasty on to the Meroitic period. It was once identified with the site of Tabo on the island of Argo, but might be the late name for the site of **Kerma**, which is close to Argo. Pnubs was the site of a **battle** between the army of **Psamtik II** and the Kushites in 593 BC.

POEM OF PENTAWERE. The name given to one of the accounts of the victory of **Ramesses II** at the battle of **Qadesh**. It survives in eight copies, inscribed on the walls of the pharaoh’s temples at Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, Abu Simbel, and the Ramesseum, and on papyri. “Poem of Pentawere” is, in fact, a misnomer: one version of the text (Papyrus Sallier III) was copied

by a scribe named Pentawere in the reign of **Merenptah**. The “poem” is divided into three sections, the two outer ones in prose and, most scholars agree, the central one metrical.

POETICAL STELA OF THUTMOSE III. A granite stela from the temple of **Amun** at Karnak (**Thebes**) now in the Cairo Museum (34010). It is a record of the pharaoh’s victories and expansion of the empire and as such relates to the **Annals of Thutmose III**. The composition is not a historical narrative but sets the victories within a mythological context. The pharaoh’s deeds are explained as a revelation of the will of Amun-Re. The text divides into three parts, the central one being a metrical “poem” in which the hieroglyphic script has been cleverly used in a symmetrical composition.

POLICE. In Egyptian, the term for the police force is **Madjoy**, and it seems likely that these people of the Eastern Desert were originally used as a specialist force. By extension, the term was retained for people serving in this “police” force. The commander was called the “Chief of the Madjoy” and was a very powerful official. A valuable source of information is the tomb of Mahu at Amarna in Middle Egypt. Mahu served **Akhenaten**, and his tomb has scenes showing his duties in the city. His troops have a standard bearer and are dressed in the usual style of soldiers. One scene shows the provisioning of a small guard post, in which an Asiatic **mercenary** is shown. Mahu takes instructions from the vizier and is shown bringing prisoners to his house. The Madjoy were probably responsible for the internal security of important towns. In Ramesside papyrus documents, the chief of the Madjoy in **Memphis** was commanding soldiers who were used to bring stone for temple building in the city.

POMOERIUM. A road that allows rapid movement of troops around the **walls**. It is found in **fortress** architecture, notably at **Buhen**.

PORPHYRION (218 BC). **Battle** of the Fourth **Syrian War** between the forces of **Ptolemy IV** and Antiochos III. The battle was part of Antiochos’s attempt to regain **Coele Syria**. Failing to break through the Ptolemaic **fortresses** that guarded the Marsyas Valley, the army took the difficult and narrow coastal route. This was easy for the Ptolemaic forces to defend, but Tyre and Acre in their rear had defected to Antiochos, along with the Ptolemaic mercenary officer, Theodotos the Aetolian. The Ptolemaic force was near the Porphyryon pass (Ras Nebi Younes some 25 kilometers south of Beirut), with a second defense line at Platanos (Cap Sakhré) five kilometers farther on, and a Ptolemaic fortress at Sidon. The Roman historian, Polybius (45.1–46.5, 61.3–62.6) details the disposition of the troops, with **archers** and slingers on the steep northern slope, and troops prepared for hand-to-hand combat on the shallower western slope. The

opposing fleets approached each other nearby. The **Seleukid** success was said to have resulted from Theodotos, who led a contingent up the mountainside and overcame a Ptolemaic troop, then descended enabling the other forces to break through the pass.

PREFECT. Chief officer, military and civil, of the Roman administration of Egypt. Unlike the other Roman provinces, which were governed by a senatorial legate, an official of equestrian rank ruled Egypt. This emphasized Egypt's role as a personal possession of the emperor, not the Roman people. The prefect was responsible for the security of Egypt; hence the largest **garrison** was at the political center of the country, **Alexandria**, rather than its strategic center, **Babylon**. The first prefect, Caius **Cornelius Gallus**, a friend of **Augustus**, was appointed in August 30 BC. He suppressed a **rebellion** in Upper Egypt in 29 BC and then took the army into Lower **Nubia**, where **Meroe** seems to have been trying to gain advantage. Gallus's successor as prefect, Aelius Gallus, was soon sent on an expedition to Arabia. The next prefect, Caius **Petronius**, was also involved in activities in Nubia after the Meroitic Kandake (**queen**), probably **Amanirenas**, established her army at Dakka. There was a Roman assault on **Qasr Ibrim**, where the Roman camp has been identified on a headland opposite. In the reign of Nero, Tiberius **Iulius Alexander** was responsible for suppression of conflict between the Greeks and **Jews** in Alexandria and later proclaimed the general Titus Flavius Vespasianus emperor. A later prefect, **Iulius Aemilianus**, was proclaimed emperor by the Alexandrian mob.

PRIMIS. The Latin name for the **fortress** of **Qasr Ibrim** in Lower **Nubia**.

PROSOPITIS. Greek form of the name of an island in the **Delta** where the prince **Inaros**, rebelling against the rule of Persia, along with the fleet sent to aid him by **Athens**, was besieged by the forces of the **satrap**. The siege lasted for 18 months (456–454 BC) before the fleet of 200 ships was captured and Inaros sent to Persia, where he was executed. Prosopitis lay between the Canopic and Sebennyitic branches of the Nile.

PSAMTIK I (reigned 664–610 BC). Ruler of **Sau** (Sais) who later reunited the whole of Egypt and is recognized as the first pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty. Like his father, **Nekau I**, Psamtik was originally a vassal of **Assyria**, being installed by **Ashurbanipal** as ruler of the **Delta** town of Hut-hery-ib (Athribis) with the Assyrian name Nabushezzi-banni. On the death of his father, probably in battle with the Kushite pharaoh **Tanwetamani**, Psamtik ascended the throne in Sau. Following Tanwetamani's flight after the invasion of Ashurbanipal, Psamtik became the acknowledged ruler of the whole of the northern part of Egypt. Succeeding events are unknown, but by his year 9, the Kushites were

prepared to cede **Thebes** and Upper Egypt, which was finalized diplomatically and formalized when Psamtik's young daughter was sent to Thebes to be adopted as the eventual successor to the religious office of God's Wife of **Amun**.

There are some large gaps in the record for the remainder of this very long reign, but it is clear that Psamtik ultimately quashed the power of the Libyan dynasts of the Delta and reasserted that of the sole pharaoh. In year 11, he was fighting in the west against the **Libyans**, but it is unclear exactly how strong the Libyan threat was.

One of the most important aspects of the reign is Psamtik's foreign policy and use of **mercenaries**. These were mainly from the cities of Ionian Greece and Caria. Psamtik also sought help from Gyges of Lydia, in western Anatolia. The "Babylonian Chronicle" (the annals of the kings of **Babylon**), refers to the allied Egyptian-Assyrian army in pursuit of the Babylonian king, Nabopolassar, on the Euphrates. Egypt seems to have chosen to bolster the rump-state of Assyria in opposition to the expanding power of Babylon. Having reunited Egypt and reimposed the authority of a single pharaoh, Psamtik I appears to have attempted to re-exert some control over western Asia. This support for Assyria, and expansion into Palestine, continued in the reign of his son and successor, **Nekau II**. *See also KUSH.*

PSAMTIK II (reigned 595–589 BC). Pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty. He continued the policies of his predecessor **Nekau II**. In year 3, Psamtik launched a campaign against **Nubia**, the most important event of the reign. It is mentioned in Herodotos (2.161), and recorded by a group of graffiti at **Abu Simbel**, as well as three official stelae from Tanis, Karnak, and **Aswan**. The Abu Simbel graffiti were carved by **mercenaries** and tell us that the army was divided into two parts; the Egyptian force was led by Amasis (Ahmose, not the later pharaoh) and the Greek mercenaries by Potasimto. Various individuals left their names and places of origin, which include Teos, Ialysos, and Kolophon. It is unknown whether the campaign was a response to any Kushite attempt to invade Egypt. The inscriptions state that there was a **battle**, at **Pnubs**, although whether the army went on to sack **Napata** is still a point of controversy. Psamtik also involved himself in the affairs of western Asia maintaining some sort of treaty alliance with **Judah** (now under Zedekiah, uncle of Jehoiakim, installed by **Nebuchadnezzar**). A text of year 4 of Psamtik records an expedition to Khor (**Syria**), but this does not appear to have been military.

PSAMTIK III (reigned 526–525 BC). Last pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty with a very brief reign of six months. As the reign extended over the Egyptian New Year, Psamtik was ascribed a full year and a part in the records. The reign was dominated by the invasion of Egypt by **Cambyses**, king of

Persia. There was a battle at **Pelusion**, the Egyptian army having large contingents of soldiers from Ionian Greece and **Caria**. The Egyptians were defeated and withdrew to **Memphis**, which was captured. Herodotos recounts how Psamtik III's life was spared, initially, but he was later put to death after the "discovery" of his role in a plot. **Cambyses** ignored this reign, backdating his own rule in Egypt to the death of **Ahmose II**.

PSAMTIK IV (fl. c. 486–470 BC). Psamtik was a ruler of the western Delta. He probably did not aspire to the Egyptian royal titles, although there are small monuments of various obscure rulers called *Psamtik* during the time of Persian rule. Psamtik might have led the **rebellion** that broke out at the end of the reign of **Darius I** and was suppressed by **Xerxes** (486/485 BC). Psamtik's son, **Inaros**, led a major rebellion against Persian rule on the death of Xerxes.

PTOLEMY I SOTER (367/366 BC, satrap 323–305, pharaoh 305–282 BC). Macedonian general who served **Alexander the Great**. On Alexander's death at **Babylon** in 323 BC, Ptolemy seized Egypt, acting first as **satrap** for Alexander IV and Philip Arrhidaios, then, following the precedent of the other *diadochoi* (the "Successors"), proclaiming himself king (and in Egyptian contexts, pharaoh) in 305 BC. Shortly after taking Egypt Ptolemy sent a military expedition to **Cyrene**, which became part of the rapidly expanding Ptolemaic Empire. In 321 BC, he repulsed the invasion of another of the diadochoi, Perdikkas. The major monument from the early years is the so-called "Satrap stela," which refers to the conquest of Cyrene and to the reign of the last Egyptian opponent of the Persians, **Khabbash**. The stela also refers to Ptolemy's victory in 312 BC at **Gaza** and his acquisition of **kebenet-vessels**. In 306 BC, Egypt faced an invasion from **Antigonos I Monophthalmos** (the One Eyed). The wars of the diadochoi and their changes of alliance, many sealed by **diplomatic marriage**, saw considerable gains of territory by Ptolemy. His army occupied Palestine and **Coele Syria**, which was to become a focus of the **Syrian Wars** between his successors and the **Seleukids** of Syria. Ptolemy brought cities along the coast of Ionia such as Miletos, Halikarnassos, and Knidos under Egyptian rule. His control of the Island League based on Delos, and of the island of Samos, made Egypt the principal sea power. Ptolemy was involved in mainland Greece, supporting **Athens** against Macedonia (events between 294–287 BC). Ptolemy was the only one of Alexander's successors to die a natural death.

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHOS (reigned 285–246 BC). The reign of Ptolemy II saw the consolidation of Ptolemaic overseas territories by war and diplomacy. Ptolemy's policy in general seems to have been to stir up problems for Macedonia, acting as the champion of the Greek cities against its aspirations. In the First **Syrian War** of 276 BC, Egypt was defeated by

Antiochos I. Shortly after, in 274 BC, Antiochus, contemplating the invasion of Egypt, formed an alliance with Magas of **Cyrene**, who married his daughter, Apama. Magas moved on Egypt, capturing **Paraitonion**, and nearly reached **Alexandria**. His advance was aided by a mutiny by Ptolemy's **Gauls**. Magas was forced to retreat by a **rebellion** of the **Libyans**. The stela from Pithom (**Tell el-Maskhuta**) records an inspection of the town's defenses in 274. Egypt suffered an invasion by the **Arabs**, and by 269 a protecting **canal** and **wall** had been constructed. The First Syrian War came to an end in 272, leaving Ptolemy in possession of Cilicia west of the Calycydnus; the eastern coast of Pamphylia with Phraselis, and perhaps Aspendes; and Lycia south of the Milyad. In Caria and Ionia, he controlled the cities of Caunus, Halikarnassos, Myndus, Knidos, and probably Miletos; in the Aegean, he held Samos, Thera and the Cyclades, Samothrace, and Itanos in Crete; in **Coele Syria**, he retained the Marsyas Valley. He acquired Aradus and Marathus, thereby making all of Phoenicia Egyptian. Egypt was again involved in mainland Greece between 267–261 BC, during the **Chremonidean War**. The Second Syrian War (259–253 BC) against Antiochos II brought setbacks, including the loss of Miletos and Samos. At the naval battle of **Kos** (probably in spring 255 BC), the Egyptian fleet commanded by Patroklos, was defeated by Antigonos II Gonatas, king of Macedon. About the same time, the fleet commanded by Chremonides was defeated by the Rhodians, at the naval battle of Ephesos. This ended Egypt's command of the sea and protectorate over the Island League. The **peace treaty** concluded in 253 saw Miletos, Samos, Ephesos, Pamphylia, and Cilicia pass to the rule of the **Seleukids**.

Ptolemy II was also active on his southern frontier in **Nubia**. There are no records of military activities, but he certainly reopened extensive trading with **Meroe**, and there are reports of expeditions far up the Nile into southern Sudan.

PTOLEMY III EUERGETES I (reigned 246–221 BC). The **diplomatic marriage** of Ptolemy III with Berenike daughter of Magas of **Cyrene** renewed Egyptian control of the north African coast far into Libya. The Third **Syrian War** (246–241 BC) against Seleukos II dominated the reign. Ptolemy III marched from Antioch to Seleukeia on the Tigris. The generals of the eastern satrapies acknowledged him, and one inscription claims that he conquered Asia from **Babylon** to Bactria. An uprising in Egypt forced Ptolemy to return to Egypt (245 BC). He claimed that he took back booty and 2,500 statues of Egyptian gods, which had been taken by **Cambyses**. This could be propaganda to establish his support of the Egyptian people in response to the **rebellion**. In any case, the removal of statues to Persia is more likely to have been an action of **Artaxerxes III** than Cambyses. In 246 or 245 BC, the Egyptian fleet commanded by the king's half-brother, Ptolemy Andromachos, was defeated by Antigonos II Gonatas of Macedon

at the battle of **Andros**. In 241 BC, peace was established between the **Seleukids** and Egypt. The war ended with Egypt gaining significant towns in Syria and Asia Minor, although some were lost again.

In 229/228 BC, Ptolemy established a military alliance with the Aetolian League, of northern Greece. This was an anti-Macedonian move. In southern Greece, the rapid rise of **Sparta** under Kleomenes III dictated a change of Ptolemaic policy. Ptolemy III ceased subsidies to the Achaean League, which had become pro-Macedonian, and supported Kleomenes. **Athens** received assurances of Ptolemaic support. At first successful in his military actions, Kleomenes was later defeated by the Macedonian king Antigonos III and fled to **Alexandria**. The end of Ptolemy's reign saw a renewed Seleukid threat to Coele Syria.

PTOLEMY IV PHILOPATOR (reigned 221–205 BC). The accession of Ptolemy IV, aged about 20, came shortly after that of the equally young Antiochos III in Syria (reigned 223/222–187 BC) and the 17-year old Philip V in Macedon (reigned 221–179 BC). At the beginning of the reign, there was an attempted coup in **Alexandria**. Kleomenes III, king of **Sparta**, an ally of **Ptolemy III**, had been defeated by Antigonos III of Macedon and had fled to Egypt. Ptolemy IV imprisoned Kleomenes, who managed to escape and started an uprising. This soon collapsed and Kleomenes committed suicide (220–219 BC).

The Fourth **Syrian War** began in 219 BC when Antiochos III attacked **Coele Syria**. Ptolemy enrolled native Egyptians in the **army**, which had been previously dominated by Greeks and Macedonians. The victory of this army at the battle of **Raphia** (217 BC) was to have dramatic repercussions in Egypt toward the end of the reign. Ptolemy IV was politically active in Greece and was instrumental in the **peace treaty** at Naupaktos. He later tried to mediate in the war between Philip V of Macedon and **Rome**.

The later years of the reign saw major opposition to Ptolemaic rule in Egypt itself. The “native revolt” began in the **Delta**, supposedly begun by the Egyptian military caste (**machimoi**). This was followed somewhat later by the **rebellion** of the Thebaid, where an Egyptian pharaoh, **Haronnophris**, was proclaimed king. Although he survived an assassination attempt during the Syrian War, Ptolemy was murdered in a palace coup involving the family of his mistress, whose brother, Agathokles, seized power. Ptolemy's death was kept secret for several months and the queen, Arsinoe, was murdered to prevent her becoming regent for her infant son. There were riots in Alexandria, and eventually Agathokles and his relatives were killed.

PTOLEMY V EPIPHANES (reigned 204–180 BC). Ptolemy ascended the throne as a minor, with Upper Egypt in **rebellion**. Shortly afterward, Antiochos III and Philip V of Macedon moved to divide the Ptolemaic

Empire between them, on an east-west line. This resulted in the Fifth **Syrian War** (202–195 BC). The war ended with a **peace treaty** sealed with the **diplomatic marriage** (winter 194/193 BC) at **Raphia**, of Ptolemy to Antiochos's daughter, Kleopatra I. **Coele Syria** was her dowry, but remained in the hands of Antiochos. After the death of Antiochos III in 187 BC, Ptolemy V began plans to regain Coele Syria. In 185, the eunuch Aristonikos was recruiting soldiers in Greece. In 183/182, Aristonikos led a naval expedition to Syria. In 180 BC, Ptolemy was poisoned by his generals.

PTOLEMY VI PHILOMETOR (reigned 180–164, 163–145 BC). Ptolemy VI Philometor began his reign as a minor, associated with his sister-wife, **Kleopatra II**. The Sixth **Syrian War** began in 170 BC. The regents sent an embassy to **Rome** seeking support for Egypt's claim to **Coele Syria**. In 169 BC, Ptolemy VI's uncle, the **Seleukid** king, **Antiochos IV**, invaded Egypt through **Pelusion** and quickly gained control of much of Lower Egypt. Ptolemy VI went to make an agreement directly with his uncle, but the Alexandrians immediately proclaimed his younger brother, **Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II**, as king alongside Kleopatra II. When Antiochos IV returned to Syria in autumn 169, Ptolemy VI returned to **Alexandria** and all three siblings were proclaimed as corulers. In response, Antiochos IV invaded Egypt again in spring 168 BC, taking **Memphis** and much of Lower Egypt and sending a successful expedition to capture **Cyprus**. He seems to have attempted to establish a Seleukid protectorate in the name of Ptolemy VI. Antiochos marched on Alexandria, but Rome intervened. Caius Popilius Laenas forced Antiochos IV to leave Egypt, and Cyprus was returned.

In about 165 BC, the **rebellion** of Dionysios Petosarapis spread from Alexandria to the countryside and was followed by an uprising in the Thebaid. Regaining control of the Thebaid was relatively easy, although it took a long siege to capture Panopolis (Akhmim). The later years of the reign were marked by dynastic disputes between the brothers. Philometor was forced to leave Egypt in 164 BC, but was restored in 163 BC, when Euergetes II went to **Cyrene**. The aid of Rome was now sought regularly in both internal and external affairs. Following the rebellion of the **Jews** against Antiochos IV, the Jewish high priest Onias settled in Egypt with a large following. Onias, and later his sons, Chelkias and Ananias, served as generals in the Ptolemaic army.

Toward the end of his reign, Philometor again became involved in events in Syria. The Seleukid family was engaged in **dynastic wars** compounded by the successes of a usurper named Alexander Balas. Philometor lent his support (sealed by marriage to his daughter Kleopatra Thea) to Alexander Balas, but used this as an excuse to reclaim Coele Syria. The Egyptian **army** and **navy** arrived in Syria in 147 BC, and Philometor installed **garrisons**. Following an assassination attempt, Philometor changed his support to Balas's rival, a Seleukid prince, Demetrios II. The coastal cities

as far as Seleukeia in Pieria now went over to Philometor, and the new alliance was sealed by the marriage of Demetrios II and Kleopatra Thea, who left Balas. Although Philometor aspired to the Seleukid crown himself, he did not wish to antagonize Rome, so he yielded it to Demetrios, keeping only Coele Syria (145 BC). Alexander Balas now attempted to regain Syria but was defeated by Philometor and Demetrios at the river Oinoparas, near Antioch, fled, and was killed. Philometor himself was fatally injured in the battle, dying a few days later. As a result, Coele Syria remained in Seleukid hands.

PTOLEMY VIII EUERGETES II (reigned 169–163, 145–116 BC). From 169 BC, Euergetes II was coruler with his brother **Ptolemy VI Philometor** and his sister, **Kleopatra II**. He reigned for a year after Philometor was ousted, but himself went to **Cyrene** when Philometor was restored. Following Philometor's death (145 BC), Euergetes II returned to Egypt, marrying his widowed sister, Kleopatra II. He soon murdered her son and married her daughter, **Kleopatra III**. The troops were recalled from the last three Ptolemaic bases in the Aegean, Itanos, Thera, and Methana, reducing Ptolemaic influence to Egypt and the **Dodekaschoinos**, **Cyrenaica**, and **Cyprus**. The following decades were marred by **dynastic wars**. Kleopatra II began a **rebellion** in 132 BC and was recognized in **Thebes**. The populace of **Alexandria** was divided in its support and there were military actions throughout the country. Toward the end of the trouble, a rebel king, **Harsiesis**, seized power in Thebes. As **cleruchs** were called up to serve, land fell out of cultivation, resulting in agricultural problems, particularly in the **Fayum**. The war came to an end in 124 BC and a form of reconciliation was agreed with amnesties (*philanthropa*) proclaimed in the names of all three rulers.

PTOLEMY IX SOTER II (reigned 116–107, 88–80 BC). Following the death of **Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II**, his widow, **Kleopatra III**, chose their elder son, Soter II, to rule with her. She forced him out of Egypt in 107 BC. He went first to **Cyrene**, but was ejected from there and fled to **Cyprus**, where he ruled from 106/105 BC. In 103 BC, his aid was sought by the Palestinian city of Ptolemais, which was being besieged by the forces of the Jewish High Priest, Alexander Jannaeus. This was the beginning of the **Syrian War (103–101 BC)**, partly a territorial and partly a **dynastic war**. Soter II returned to Cyprus where he continued to rule until he was recalled to Egypt in 88 BC. He reigned there until his death in 80 BC. There was, during this period, a major **rebellion** in **Thebes**.

PTOLEMY X ALEXANDER I (reigned 107–88 BC). Following the expulsion of **Ptolemy IX Soter II**, **Kleopatra III** recalled her younger son Alexander I from **Cyprus** and associated him with her as king. He played a leading role in the **Syrian War** of 103–101 BC, commanding the fleet. He

fled Egypt following a joint **rebellion** by parts of the army and the Greek population of **Alexandria** incensed by his pro-Jewish attitude. He tried to re-enter Egypt with a Syrian army, but again fled, to Lycia. He was killed in a sea battle off the coast of Cyprus.

PTOLEMY XI ALEXANDER II (reigned 80 BC). With the death of **Ptolemy IX Soter II**, his daughter Kleopatra Berenike III became queen, but after a few months the Greek population of **Alexandria** demanded that she seek a coregent. The Roman dictator, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, insisted that Ptolemy XI Alexander II, the son of **Ptolemy X Alexander I**, be installed as coruler with his cousin (and step-mother), who now became his wife. After 19 days, Alexander had Kleopatra Berenike murdered. The enraged Alexandrians dragged him from the palace to the gymnasium, where he was torn to pieces. It was later claimed that he had bequeathed Egypt and Cyprus to the Roman Republic.

PTOLEMY XII NEOS DIONYSOS (reigned 80–58, 55–51 BC). Commonly called “Auletes” (“flute-player”), he was a son of **Ptolemy IX Soter II**. Auletes generally followed a pro-Roman policy. In 58 BC, **Rome** attacked **Cyprus**, and Auletes made no move either to defend it or send aid to his brother who was ruling there. As a result, his brother committed suicide and Cyprus was lost. The Alexandrians were enraged and forced Auletes to flee. He went to Rome for support. Eventually, Auletes was restored by the governor of Syria, Aulus Gabinius, who entered Egypt with a large military force, the cavalry, commanded by Marcus **Antonius**. Gabinius left a unit of Roman legionaries (the **Gabinians**) in **Alexandria** to support Auletes.

PTOLEMY XIII (reigned 51–47 BC). Son of **Ptolemy XII Auletes** and brother of **Kleopatra VII**. The will of Ptolemy XII named **Rome** as the guarantor of a joint rule by his chosen children, but soon after his accession, the 12-year old Ptolemy XIII was ousted by his sister, who reigned alone for 18 months. In autumn 50 BC, Ptolemy was reinstated alongside Kleopatra. However, the events of the Roman Civil War soon involved Egypt. In 49 BC, the son of the Roman general Pompey landed in Egypt seeking assistance for his father who had retreated to the east to build up his forces for the war with **Julius Caesar**. The Alexandrian court was under obligation to Pompey as Ptolemy XII had established a political friendship with him. He was therefore supplied with 500 **cavalry** from the **Gabinians** and 50 warships. Shortly after, Ptolemy forced his sister to flee **Alexandria** (first to the Thebaid, then to **Syria**) and enjoyed a period of sole rule. In defiance of Ptolemy XII’s will, Pompey and the Roman senate in the east recognized Ptolemy XIII as sole legitimate king.

Caesar and his army pursued Pompey, defeating him at Pharsalos in northern Greece (48 BC). Pompey, with 2,000 soldiers, fled to Egypt for aid. He arrived near **Pelusion**, where Ptolemy XIII and his army had advanced

to prevent Kleopatra's attempt to regain her throne. Pompey sent envoys to the king, but was executed on the orders of Ptolemy, who wished to gain favor with the victorious Caesar, who had followed in pursuit. However, Caesar chose to support Kleopatra's claims to joint rule. Caesar also named their younger brother, Ptolemy XIV, and sister, Arsinoe, as joint rulers of **Cyprus**, although they did not leave Alexandria. Cyprus remained a Ptolemaic possession until after the battle of **Aktion**.

Caesar ensured that Kleopatra was reinstated, but Ptolemy was popular in Alexandria, and when his courtiers recalled the army from Pelusion and stirred up anti-Roman feeling in the city, a nationalist movement soon developed. The result was the **Alexandrian War**. During this, Arsinoe joined Ptolemy XIII with the Egyptian army and was acclaimed queen. Mithridates of Pergamon, leading an army to relieve Caesar, advanced along the coast from **Gaza** toward Pelusion. It included cavalry from the Nabataean kingdom of Petra and 3,000 Jewish soldiers. Pelusion was captured. Caesar and his army joined with the new force and Ptolemy XIII was killed in the subsequent battle. Kleopatra was reinstated as queen, with Ptolemy XIV as coruler. Arsinoe was displayed in Caesar's Roman triumph, then held in captivity in Ephesos until her murder by **Marcus Antonius**, at Kleopatra's request.

PUNT. A country of east Africa, situated on the west coast of the Red Sea. The Egyptians sent expeditions to Punt from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom, and although the general geographical location was doubtless the same, its political nature must have changed. Earlier scholarship identified Punt with the Horn of Africa, but it is now believed to lie farther north somewhere in eastern Sudan and northeast Ethiopia. Excavations in this region, in the Gash Delta, have identified archaeological remains that might possibly equate with the Punt of the Late Bronze Age (New Kingdom). Egypt's relationship with Punt was based on trade, principally in incense and other precious commodities. Expeditions sailed along the coast of the Red Sea and then traveled some way inland. The most detailed information comes from the temple of **Hatshepsut** at Deir el-Bahari (**Thebes**), which has fine relief sculptures of her expedition. In this contingents of the **army** are shown. Punt continues to be referred to after the New Kingdom, but in ideological or mythological, rather than historical, contexts. The kingdom of **Meroe** controlled the east African trade in the later first millennium BC, and Aksum came to dominate much of the same geographical area as Punt in the first centuries AD.

QADESH. City of north **Syria**, generally identified with the archaeological site of Tell Nebi Mend, on the Orontes River. The name is often spelled “Kadesh” in Egyptological literature. The Semitic name *qadosh* means “a sanctuary” and was rendered into Egyptian hieroglyphic using a sign now generally transcribed as *qd*.

Qadesh has a strategic position, controlling the Beqa Valley. It first appears in Egyptian texts as the leader of a coalition of about 330 towns of **Canaan** and Syria that opposed **Thutmose III** at the battle of **Megiddo**. After Thutmose III’s victory, Qadesh still opposed his advances, although its ruler acknowledged Egyptian authority when **Amenhotep II** approached the city on his first Asiatic campaign. Qadesh remained an Egyptian vassal until the reign of **Akhenaten**, when the **Hittites** became active in the region, destabilizing the kingdom of **Mitanni**. Qadesh and its ruler occur in a number of the **Amarna Letters**. The Hittite advance led to open war with Egypt, and Qadesh became a focus for the campaigns of both **Sety I** and **Ramesses II**. Sety I’s attack on the city is depicted in his **battle** reliefs in the temple of Karnak (**Thebes**). Despite his success, Qadesh had reverted to Hittite control by the accession of Ramesses II. The city is famous as the site of the battle in year 5 of Ramesses II between the Egyptian and Hittite armies (see following entry). Despite the claims of a victory by Ramesses II, Qadesh remained under Hittite control until it was destroyed in the 12th century. This is usually attributed to the **Sea Peoples**.

QADESH, BATTLE OF (c. 1274 BC). **Battle** in year 5 of Ramesses II between the Egyptian army led by Ramesses II and the **Hittites** under **Muwatalli**. Although the outcome was inconclusive, Ramesses II claimed it as a great victory, and a pictorial and literary account was carved in many of his temples. Reliefs depict the battle in the temples of Abydos, Karnak, Luxor, the Ramesseum, and Abu Simbel. There were certainly comparable **battle scenes** in the temples of **Memphis** and other northern cities that have now been destroyed. The pictorial accounts are accompanied by two literary accounts known as the “Bulletin” and the “**Poem of Pentawere**.” The poem emphasizes the heroic role of the pharaoh, and is an expression of kingship ideology, but framed within the historical context. This survives in papyrus copies as well as temple inscriptions. The Bulletin, found alongside the pictorial accounts, is rather more factual, but still gives the leading role to the pharaoh. These Egyptian accounts are supplemented by the equally biased Hittite account on tablets from Bogazköy. There is a large Egyptological **literature** on the sources and reconstructing the course of the battle.

In his first years of reign, Ramesses II continued Sety I's campaigns, which had reasserted Egyptian authority over **Canaan** into Lebanon. In year 4, Ramesses had some success in regaining control of Amurru, which led the Hittite king, Muwatalli, to retaliate. He assembled an army from Hatti and 16 of its provinces and allies. He put a total of 2,500 **chariots** and 37,000 men in the field.

Ramesses II marched his army north through **Gaza**, Canaan, and Galilee into Lebanon and then up the Beqa Valley. The **march** took one month. The four army **divisions** were named after the principal deities: **Amun**, **Re**, **Ptah**, and **Seth**. Ramesses went ahead with the division of Amun, forded the Orontes, and began the advance toward Qadesh. Two "spies" were captured by the Egyptians and said that the Hittites were at Aleppo, when, in fact, they were already at Qadesh. The division of Amun arrived and set up **camp** when two more Hittite spies were captured and the truth revealed. Messengers were sent to hurry the arrival of the division of Re, which was the closest, probably about half a day's march away, and the division of Ptah, which was a little farther behind. The division of Seth must have been more than a full day's march behind.

The Hittites launched their attack while the chariotry of the division of Re was coming across the plain and Ramesses and the division of Amun were still unprepared. Ramesses was able to muster the chariotry and engaged the enemy. A relief force, the "*Ne'aren*," arrived and was able to join in, and, remarkably, the Egyptians were eventually able to drive the Hittite chariotry back to the Orontes. The division of Ptah arrived toward the end of the battle and was able to join in mopping-up operations: capturing prisoners and booty and counting the dead.

The account of the following day is open to more than one interpretation. Many scholars have understood it to mean that Ramesses II resumed the battle, but that the armies disengaged. A different reading of the text proposes that Ramesses actually took part in a decimation of some of his own soldiers who had abandoned the conflict on the preceding day. Negotiations for peace were opened. Ramesses refused to yield his claims to Qadesh and Amurru but agreed not to open hostilities again. The Egyptians returned home, leaving Muwatalli free to secure his control of Qadesh and Amurru, where he installed a new vassal ruler.

QARQAR. City in north **Syria** to the northwest of Hamath, on the Orontes River, site of two major **battles** in 853 BC and 720 BC. Qarqar's exact location is uncertain. It might perhaps be identified with modern Qarqur, or with a tell at Jisr es-Sugur, on the route from Aleppo to Latakia.

QARQAR (BATTLE, 853 BC). In 853 BC, Shalmaneser III, the king of **Assyria**, defeated a coalition of the rulers of western Asia led by Hadad-idri, king of Damascus. Shalmaneser was attempting to bring the territory

of Urhilina (Irkhuleni), king of Hamath, under Assyrian suzerainty. The forces of the coalition are detailed on the “Kurkh monolith” and it is a valuable source for our understanding of the ratios of **chariots**, **cavalry**, and **infantry** at this time.

	<i>Chariots</i>	<i>Cavalry</i>	<i>Infantry</i>
Damascus	1,200	1,200	20,000
Hamath	700	700	10,000
Israel	2,000	-	10,000
Irqata	10		10,000
Shianu	300		10,000

In addition to these groups, there were smaller contingents of infantry from some of the coastal cities and 1,000 **camels** from a ruler of the **Arabs**, one of the earliest records of camels used in war. There was a contingent of “1,000 men from Musri” Egypt. This is the first known Egyptian intervention in western Asia since the campaigns of **Sheshonq I** and “**Shishak**” more than 70 years earlier. It is notable that the Egyptian force was small and not associated with a named ruler. Whichever pharaoh was responsible for sending this assistance (Egyptologists are divided on his identity) clearly hoped that the massed army of the coalition would be sufficient to keep the Assyrians from further advances into western Asia, but was unwilling or lacked the resources to supply greater strength. A later record of Shalmaneser III, the “Black Obelisk” (London, British Museum), lists and depicts the **tribute** of the west received by the Assyrian king. This includes the tribute of Musri, and it is clear that following the battle of Qarqar and Shalmaneser III’s later victories over the coalition in the campaigns of 849, 848, and 845 BC, the pharaoh felt the need to bow to Assyrian superiority.

QARQAR (BATTLE, 720 BC). The second **battle** of Qarqar was in 720 BC. Shortly after his accession, **Sargon II** marched west to suppress the **rebellion** that had broken out on the death of Shalmaneser V. Sargon defeated Yau-bi’di of Hamath at Qarqar, before moving south to engage Egyptian forces at **Raphia**.

QASR. Southernmost **fortress** in **Kharga Oasis**, standing where the Darb el-Arbain (Forty Days Road), the great caravan route from Darfur, enters the oasis basin. The walls stand 9 meters high, enclosing an area of 30 × 20 meters. The associated pottery is Roman, although not yet more closely dated. Whether the fort was built to control trade along the **desert** road or

prevent military attacks from the south, cannot be determined without excavation. In Medieval early Modern times, there was an Ottoman **garrison** in the same region.

QASR EL-GHUEIDA. Qasr el-Ghueida stands in a commanding position on a hilltop south of the town of **Kharga**. The large, square enclosure, with walls some 10 meters high, is now filled with buildings and a temple complex. The original small chapel dates to the reign of the Persian pharaoh **Darius I** (521–485 BC), and was considerably enlarged in the Ptolemaic period. The Roman **garrison** at Kharga (Oasis Magna) is referred to in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and undoubtedly this fortress is a contender for its headquarters.

QASR IBRIM (PRIMIS). Hilltop **fortress** in Lower **Nubia**. Qasr Ibrim stands opposite the fortress-town of **Aniba** (Miam), although there is no evidence for Middle or New Kingdom **fortification** of the site. All of the New Kingdom stonework found on the site was brought from Aniba, mainly from the temples. The earliest phases of the fortifications have been excavated only recently. There were seven identified phases of rebuilding, the last being contemporary with a temple of the Kushite pharaoh **Taharqo** (680–665 BC). Radiocarbon evidence suggests a date of 920–800 BC for phase 3. The early constructions include a terrace of stone and a substantial mud-brick defensive **wall** with stone inner facing. A circular tower of cut sandstone was later built over the entrance in the defensive wall and was itself later encased in a polygonal bastion of mud brick. This was followed by the work associated with Taharqo. Following the Kushite withdrawal from Egypt (656 BC), there is no clearly dated evidence known from Qasr Ibrim until the extension of the enclosure walls in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

There is evidence for a number of temples, and Ibrim's primary function as a fortress has now been questioned. However, it certainly played a significant role in the Roman conflict with **Meroe**. According to Strabo the Roman **prefect**, Caius **Petronius**, captured "Premnis" (Ibrim) on his march to **Napata** and again on his return, installing a **garrison** and supplies. It is possible that he had intended Ibrim as the new southern frontier between Roman Egypt and the Meroitic kingdom, instead of the Ptolemaic frontier at **Maharraqa** (Hiera Sykaminos). A Meroitic advance northward may have captured Ibrim: it forced Petronius to return to Nubia. Recent excavations have identified considerable new evidence relating to this phase and show that earlier ideas that it was a Roman military outpost until circa 100 AD are wrong. The Roman pottery evidence is entirely contemporary with Petronius' expeditions. A significant site on a headland down river of Ibrim was discovered and surveyed in 1990. The site has two dry stone enclosures, one with a cleared area, interpreted as a parade

ground with emplacements for military standards. Low stone walls suggested a layout of tented barrack blocks. Following the Meroitic deputation to **Augustus**, the frontier was re-established at Maharraqa. Ibrim remained in Meroitic occupation throughout the later Roman period and became an important Christian center, with a cathedral, and in early modern times, the site of an Ottoman garrison (with Bosnian troops). *See also* MEROE.

QASR EL-LABEKA. Roman **fortress** in the north of **Kharga Oasis** controlling the Darb el-Arbain (Forty Days Road). Roughly 12 meters square, with circular corner towers, the design is similar to other forts in the region, such as **Someira** and **el-Gib**. The fort is part of a group of related ruins with a temple enclosure, tombs, and aqueducts.

QASR QARUN. *See* DIONYSIAS.

QUBAN. **Fortress** in **Nubia** standing at the mouth of the Wadi el-Allaqi, the principal gold-mining region of Nubia. It was founded in the early 12th Dynasty by **Senusret I**. It was a large rectangular structure similar in plan to the contemporary forts of **Aniba** and **Mirgissa**. The remains were already suffering considerable destruction in the 19th century AD and relatively little excavation was carried out before the total loss of the site. Its history and archaeology is, therefore, less well known than that of the Second **Cataract** fortresses. At the end of the New Kingdom, Quban appears to have been occupied by the forces of the general and high priest of **Amun**, Paiankh, when he directed his campaign against the **viceroys of Kush**, **Panehesy**, in the last years of the reign of **Ramesses XI**.

QUEENS. Several women ruled in Egypt: Neitiqert at the end of the Old Kingdom; Sobekneferu at the end of the 12th Dynasty; **Hatshepsut** (and perhaps Smenkhkare) in the 18th Dynasty; and Tawosret at the end of the 19th Dynasty. These women, however, assumed full pharaonic titularies and regalia and should be properly regarded as pharaohs, the Egyptians having no concept of a queen-regnant. The women of the Ptolemaic family were active in political life and some, such as **Kleopatra II**, **Kleopatra III**, and **Berenike III**, were regnant queens. **Kleopatra VII** assumed the full pharaonic style, but was always depicted as a woman (contrary to Hatshepsut). These Ptolemaic queens became involved in **dynastic wars** in Egypt and **Syria**, and in **civil wars**.

South of Egypt, there were female rulers in the Kushite kingdom of **Meroe**. They used the distinctive title *Ktkl*, from which we derive the Greek form, *Kandake*, more usually found in literature. The Kandake can be depicted in the traditional pharaonic style, smiting her enemies, and there is evidence from Roman writers that one of them (probably to be identified with **Amanirenas**) led her armies into battle.

With the exception of the female pharaoh Hatshepsut, there is no evidence for military activities led by Egyptian queens of the pre-Ptolemaic period. Despite this, a distinctly violent image of queenship was developed in the later 18th Dynasty. Tiye, the wife of **Amenhotep III**, and Nefertiti, the wife of **Akhenaten**, were both depicted as a female **sphinx** trampling the female enemies of Egypt. Tiye is shown as a form of the goddess **Tefnut** in her temple at Sedeinga in **Nubia**, with the epithet “Great of terror in the foreign lands.” Nefertiti is shown smiting the female enemies of Egypt with a **khepesh**. These images were modified to a more conventional passive form for later queens who accompany or watch their husbands performing violent acts. An ostrakon depicts a queen in a chariot in combat with a chariot-borne male, but there is no accompanying text to elucidate its historical or mythological context. An actual role for Tiye in diplomatic affairs is attested in the **Amarna Letters** and letters from the royal archive at Hattusa show that the wife and mother of **Ramesses II** were engaged in a similar diplomatic correspondence with the wife of the king of the **Hittites**. Peaceful relations between Egypt and the Hittites was confirmed when Ramesses II entered into a **diplomatic marriage** with the daughter of the Hittite king.

QUINQUEREME (Greek: *penteres*). Larger than the **trieme**, the quinquereme was a characteristic vessel of the Hellenistic **navy**, with three banks of oars. It first appears in the navy lists of **Athens** in 325 BC and was adopted by the Romans (on the model of captured Carthaginian ships) during the Punic Wars. The size of such vessels made them difficult to maneuver. It has been assumed that the use of such large and unwieldy ships at **Aktion**, from **Kleopatra VII**’s fleet, was a contributory factor to the defeat of Marcus **Antonius**.

RAKOTE. The name (Raqode in hieroglyphic, Rakote in Coptic, Rhakotis in Greek) of a coastal town, and perhaps **fortress**, in the western **Delta** standing on a spur of land between the Mediterranean Sea and Lake Mareotis. Rakote was the site chosen by **Alexander the Great** for his new city, **Alexandria**. No pre-Ptolemaic archaeological remains have been excavated here, but it is possible that Rakote formed part of **Ramesses II**'s defensive network along the edge of the western Delta and coast, including **Alamein**, **el-Gharbaniyat**, **Karm Abu-Girg**, and **Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham**.

RAMESES II (reigned c. 1279–1212 BC). Pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty, son of **Sety I** with whom he was associated with many of the attributes of kingship (except his own regnal years). Ramesses was active in some of his father's military campaigns and might have been solely in command of an expedition to **Nubia**. For a pharaoh whose monuments promote him as great warrior, there is remarkably little detail about many of the campaigns, and even the chronology of some is uncertain.

The first campaign Ramesses II led as pharaoh was in year 4. His army marched along the coast of **Canaan** and Lebanon to Irqata, returning via Byblos, Tyre, and the **Nahr el-Kelb** (north of Beirut). The following year, the pharaoh attempted to regain **Qadesh** on the Orontes and fought with the **Hittites**. Despite the inconclusive outcome of the **battle**, Ramesses celebrated his "victory" in temples throughout his kingdom and in a literary account known as the **Poem of Pentawere**. The campaigns of the following years were directed a little farther south, in Edom, Moab, and the Negeb, and there was no attempt to regain **Qadesh**. The expedition of year 8 ensured Egyptian control of the coastal cities of Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Byblos. In year 10, the pharaoh left a rock-cut stela at the Nahr el-Kelb, probably on the return from **Tunip** and **Dapur**.

Around year 18 or 20, the death of the Hittite king, **Muwatalli**, led to a change in relations between Egypt and her principal rival. In year 21, a peace treaty was agreed, recorded by two tablets in Babylonian cuneiform found at Hattusa (Bogazköy) and a stela at Karnak. Diplomatic correspondence between Ramesses II, his mother, chief wife, and crown prince, and members of the Hittite royal family reveal an easing of the situation. In year 34, Ramesses entered into a **diplomatic marriage** with the daughter of Hattusil.

The events and campaigns in western Asia are those most clearly documented, but there were also military actions on the western and southern frontiers. There is evidence for a string of **fortresses** along the

coast from **Alamein** to **Zawiyet Umm el Rakham**, acting as a defense against the **Libyans**. No surviving inscriptions record military actions in this region. It is significant that the archaeological evidence suggests that these forts were in use for a limited period, and it is certain that Ramesses settled some Libyans in the eastern **Delta**, around Per-Bastet. It is quite possible that the Egyptians were unable to halt the eastward movements of Libyans, which continued to pose a problem in the reign of his son **Merenptah**.

The evidence from Nubia is equally sketchy. An early campaign, probably in the reign of Sety I, is recorded in the temple at Beit el-Wali. There was a **rebellion** by the most powerful of the southern Nubian states, **Irem**, around year 40. The military expedition sent to crush this was led by the **viceroys** and two of Ramesses' sons.

RAMESSES III (reigned c. 1184–1153 BC). Pharaoh of the 20th Dynasty. His reign was marked by the invasions of the **Sea Peoples** and the **Libyan Wars**. The military expeditions of the reign are depicted in a cycle of reliefs in the pharaoh's temple at **Medinet Habu (Thebes)**. A relief showing a campaign in **Syria** includes the siege of Arzawa and of **Tunip** and the capture of an unnamed Syrian fortress. Because these are not mentioned in other texts, doubt has been cast on their veracity, some Egyptologists going as far as to state that they are copied from now *lost* reliefs of the reign of **Merenptah**. The archaeological evidence from western Asia shows that Ramesses III did re-establish Egyptian authority throughout **Canaan**. In consequence, the battle reliefs can be assumed to have some basis in historical reality. The reality of a Nubian campaign has also been doubted, and the reliefs recording it interpreted as either a piece of symbolism (to complete the universal conquests of the king), or as copied from an earlier pharaoh's campaign. Although the Nubian reliefs are badly damaged, the specific locale, **Irem**, had been a persistent threat to the southern territory of the **viceroys** since the reign of **Sety I** and was to continue to be so. Therefore, some military action, even minor, seems quite plausible, if not likely.

The most significant military encounters of the reign, and those given greatest prominence at Medinet Habu, were the Libyan Wars of years 5 and 11 and the battle with the Sea Peoples in year 8.

Ramesses III might have been assassinated in the "harem conspiracy," which is documented from the records of subsequent trials. There is no evidence for a **dynastic war**, although had the plot achieved all of its goals, such a conflict might have broken out. Among those implicated in the conspiracy was the Chief of Bowmen of Kush, the head of the army in Nubia.

RAMESSES IV (reigned c. 1153–1147 BC). Pharaoh of the 20th Dynasty.

Although no military actions are documented for the reign, the inscriptions carved in the Wadi Hammammat, in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt, are an important record of a quarrying expedition, detailing the numbers of people involved and the role of the **army**. The inscription of year 3 lists the members of the expedition sent to quarry stone, under the command of the high priest of **Amun**. These include numerous dignitaries and scribal staff and the deputy of the army, scribes of the army and of the deputy, various officers, 50 charioteers, 5,000 infantry, and 50 **Madjoy**. The whole totalled 8,362 persons. An additional 900 dead are recorded.

RAMESES VI (reigned c. 1143–1136 BC). The archaeological evidence shows that the Egyptian empire in western Asia came to an abrupt end in this reign. There is evidence of destruction by fire at important **garrison** towns, such as **Megiddo**, **Beth Shean**, and **Gaza**. The destruction is often attributed to the **Sea Peoples** and the **Philistines**. A statue of the pharaoh shows him bringing a **Libyan** captive, and accompanied by his pet lion, possibly alluding to an action against the Libyans. There is some evidence for infiltration of the Nile Valley by Libyans, particularly in Upper Egypt, but it is unclear whether these were forceful.

RAMESES IX (reigned c. 1126–1108 BC). A letter of the high priest of **Amun** addresses Nubian troops from **Ikayta** who are accompanying gold-washing teams in the Eastern Desert. It reports successes against the **Shasu**, who came from a place called *Muqed* on the Red Sea, and states that these Shasu had previously attacked “the land of Egypt,” presumably indicating the Nile Valley.

RAMESES XI (reigned c. 1099–1069 BC). Last pharaoh of the 20th Dynasty. His reign saw the “suppression” of the high priest of **Amun**, Amenhotep, anarchy in **Thebes**, and ended with **civil war** in Egypt and **Nubia**. The **viceroys of Kush**, **Panehesy**, brought his troops to Thebes, where he restored order. Later, Panehesy led the army farther north into Middle Egypt, perhaps as far as the **Delta**. There are some indications that a **battle** took place. Panehesy eventually returned to Nubia and a new power is found in Thebes, the General Herihor, who also assumed the titles of high priest of Amun and viceroy of Kush. The appearance of Herihor in Thebes is marked by a new dating system for the reign, which now returns to year one of “the Renaissance,” equal to year 19. Following Herihor’s death, his successor as high priest and general, Paiankh, launched an attack against Panehesy. The army of Paiankh marched into Nubia and gained control of the fortress of **Quban**. Panehesy seems to have held **Aniba**. It might have been at this time that **Qasr Ibrim** was fortified. The outcome of the conflict is unknown. The return of Paiankh and his army to Thebes is recorded in the last year of Ramesses XI, but neither he nor Panehesy are attested afterward.

RAPHIA. Coastal town of Palestine, the Egyptian *Repeh* and Assyrian *Rapikhu*, between the **Brook-of-Egypt (Rhinocolura**, modern el-Arish: 36 kilometers) and **Gaza** (32 kilometers). Site of confrontations between Egyptian and invading armies. The first major recorded battle was that between the forces of **Sargon II of Assyria** and the Egyptian commander, Re'e. Later Assyrian invasions of Egypt went through the town, notably that of **Esarhaddon** in 671 BC, but this was without battle or attack. The army of **Nebuchadnezzar II** also passed through Raphia, having captured Gaza, before confronting the army of **Nekau II** at **Migdol**. The most significant battle at Raphia was that between the armies of **Ptolemy IV** and Antiochos III on 23 June 217 BC, during the Fourth **Syrian War**.

RAPHIA (BATTLE, 720 BC). In 720 BC, the king of **Assyria**, **Sargon II**, marched his army into Syria defeating the king of Hamath at **Qarqar** and recapturing Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria before moving south toward Gaza. The Egyptians had restored the ruler of Gaza, Khanunu, to his position. Now he engaged the Assyrian army in battle, with the aid of an Egyptian army under the command of Re'e. The Egyptian force was defeated, and Sargon claims to have taken Khanunu "with his own hand." Khanunu was taken captive to Assyria, and Raphia was looted and "destroyed." The Assyrians now controlled the **Brook-of-Egypt** and access to the *Via Maris* or **Ways of Horus**. They placed the region under the control of the local beduouin, probably **Arabs**.

RAPHIA (BATTLE, 217 BC). A **battle** of the Fourth **Syrian War** between the armies of **Ptolemy IV** and Antiochos III, on 22 June 217 BC. A detailed account of the battle is given in the histories of Polybius (although there are still differences over its interpretation). Ptolemy IV's army arrived at the site of the battle after a forced **march**, which covered the 180 kilometers from **Pelusion** in five days, in order to arrive at a site that he considered favorable. He seems to have wanted to avoid the narrow Jiradi Pass, which is flanked by the sea dunes and desert sand, and which would have favored the Seleukid **elephants** and hindered the Egyptian **infantry**. The chosen site was suitable for him to use all of his troops.

The Egyptian infantry vastly outnumbered that of Antiochos, which was reduced because of events in the east of his empire. In **cavalry** numbers, the sides were almost equal: Ptolemy had 5,000 and Antiochos had 6,000. The Ptolemaic army altogether numbered 70,000. Besides the Greek infantry and cavalry were 20,000 native Egyptian troops under the command of Sosibios. Ptolemy's other troops included Thracians and Galatians (**Gauls**), and Cretans. Antiochos had 62,000 infantry at his disposal, including 10,000 Nabataean **Arabs**. Both sides had a large number of elephants. The Seleukid elephants, numbering 102, were from India. The 73 Ptolemaic elephants were African and had been brought from

Meroe or Ethiopia. This was the first time that the Ptolemaic army had used elephants. The Seleukid **phalanx** (heavy infantry) was posted in the center with the cavalry on the wings and light infantry on the flanks between the *phalanx* and cavalry. The right wing was the stronger, with an advance block of cavalry led by Antiochos himself. Ptolemy and his guard faced Antiochos directly. The Ptolemaic *phalanx* was numerically superior (45,000). It was placed in the center and formed a deeper line (perhaps 32 deep) than its Seleukid opponent.

Antiochos gained the first advantage when the 60 elephants on his right wing charged the 40 on Ptolemy's left. Ptolemy's wing gave way and Antiochos led a successful cavalry attack, which he pursued. Ptolemy successfully left his cavalry and returned to the field to personally lead a counterattack with the infantry. The Ptolemaic right wing successfully pushed through the Seleukid left. The Ptolemaic victory was probably caused in part to Antiochos's absence from the field in pursuit of Ptolemy and his cavalry, not realizing that the king had managed to slip away. This success for the Egyptian troops (**Machimoi**) showed them their own power and after the return to Egypt, there was a prolonged **rebellion**.

RE. Solar god of Iunu (*Heliopolis*), usually depicted with a falcon head. He can be seen presenting weapons, usually the **khepesh**, to the pharaoh in temple reliefs. The name was combined with other gods such as **Amun** (as Amun-Re) or manifestations of the sun god (e.g., Re-Harakhty). The pharaoh was identified with Re-Harakhty in his manifestation as a **sphinx**, the celestial conqueror.

REBELLION, REVOLT. In ancient Egypt, "rebellion" was an act committed against the pharaoh, who represented divine rule on earth. Many records of military campaigns by pharaohs, particularly during the New Kingdom, are prefaced by the announcement of a rebellion and the pharaoh's angry response to it (he is usually described as "raging like a leopard"). In actuality, the accession of a new pharaoh was a normal time for rebellion by subject rulers. This is true, not only of Egypt, but most ancient empires. The **Assyrians** constantly faced rebellion by their provinces, or vassal rulers. Sometimes these were actually coordinated: there is evidence for diplomatic contacts between the rebel king of **Babylon** and the king of **Judah**, so that distraction on one front assisted bids for independence on another. The death of the Great King of Persia was also frequently followed by the rebellion of many of the provinces of the empire, particularly those farthest from the center. Usually, a **peace treaty** was valid only for the lives of both parties, so when a pharaoh, or subject ruler, died, the treaty was no longer valid.

During the period of the Egyptian Empire in western Asia, in the New Kingdom, there were frequent "rebellions" by vassal rulers and city-states,

particularly those that were in north **Syria** and were on the periphery of the kingdoms of **Mitanni** and the **Hittites**. Notable among these was **Qadesh**, which occupied a strategic position and was constantly changing allegiance. In **Nubia**, too, it was generally the territories on the periphery, such as **Irem** and **Miu**, that rebelled. One rebellion, in the reign of **Merenptah**, was apparently meant to have been coordinated with the **Libyan** invasion, indicating close contacts between vassal rulers.

There are hardly any indications of rebellion or revolt against any pharaoh by the Egyptian people, but this is because of the nature of the evidence. Most opposition to pharaohs was probably palace-centered, and took the form of **dynastic war**. Although there is evidence for conflict between different region of Egypt, notably in the Intermediate Periods, these are also motivated by elite factions, rather than being **civil war** in the true sense. Even later, revolts and rebellions focused around specific disaffected (or ambitious) individuals and groups, rather than being large-scale politically and philosophically motivated uprisings.

Although the **rekhyt** people generally were one of the groups that the pharaoh had to control, there is relatively little evidence for rebellions by named individuals within Egypt. This is certainly a manifestation of Egyptian ideology. One of the few instances is the record of the rebels **Aata** (who might have been a Nubian local ruler) and **Tetian**, who opposed **Ahmose I**. In this case, Teti-an might represent a faction opposed to the Theban attempts to reunite Egypt. Presumably, much opposition was suppressed violently and left unrecorded.

Some pharaohs are known to have come to power as a result of rebellion against the reigning monarch, and there were probably more than we actually have evidence for. Inevitably, the victor became “legitimate” ruler, and most of our evidence comes from non-Egyptian late sources. The only well-documented earlier instance is that of **Amenmesses**, apparently a son of **Sety II**, who seized power following the death of Merenptah and reigned for several years. This might have been concurrently with his father, but confined to Upper Egypt. **Sheshonq I** probably used force to gain the throne because he is still referred to by his Libyan title at **Thebes** in his second year. **Ahmose II** was proclaimed pharaoh by the army in a rebellion against **Wahibre**. Ahmose might have been a member of the royal family. Persian rule in Egypt saw many rebellions in which local dynasts assumed Egyptian royal style: Pedubast III (in the reign of **Darius I**), **Psamtik IV** and his son **Inaros**, **Amyrtaios**. The 28th and 29th Dynasties were a period when rival dynasts aspired to the throne, and violence frequently accompanied the accession. Dynastic problems persisted throughout the 30th Dynasty when **Nekhthorheb** was proclaimed as ruler by his father, the brother of the reigning pharaoh, **Djedhor**. They were frequent in the later Ptolemaic period, in the reigns of the queens **Kleopatra II**, **Kleopatra III**, and **Kleopatra VII**, and their associated kings.

Self-interest played a large part in many rebellions. The rebellion of **Nimlot**, ruler of **Khmunu**, against **Piye** was prompted by the approach of a large coalition army of Libyan rulers, while Piye was far away in **Kush**. Similarly, in the later years of Kushite rule in Egypt, the Libyan dynasts of the Delta yielded to the Assyrians when their armies entered Egypt, but submitted to **Taharqo** and **Tanwetamani** when they regained control.

A sense of nationalism did develop in the Persian and Ptolemaic periods and manifested itself in the rebellions of **Thebes** and Upper Egypt under **Chaonnophris**, **Haronnophris**, and **Harsiesis**. Anti-Roman feeling played a significant part in the **Alexandrian War**. Religious differences fueled the rebellion of the **Boukoloi**, led by the priest **Isidoros**, and the **Jewish revolt**. Conflicts between Greeks and **Jews** led to civil disturbances and riots in **Alexandria** throughout the period of Roman rule. The city, for long, the most important in the eastern Mediterranean, was also the center for generals and officials aspiring to the imperial purple. The emperor **Vespasian** was proclaimed in the city by the Prefect **Iulius Alexander**, but the attempts of **Avidius Cassius**, **Iulius Aemilianus**, “**Firmus**,” and of **Domitius Domitianus** and **Aurelius Achilleus** (in the reign of **Diocletian**) all failed.

REKHYT. A term used for the people of Egypt, represented by the lapwing. It is possible that in the Predynastic or Early Dynastic Period, *rekhyt* signified a population of the **Delta**, or **Libyans**. The **mace** head of king **Scorpion** shows dead lapwings hanging from standards surmounted by the emblems of the *nomes* (districts).

RESHEP. God originating in **Syria**, who was introduced into Egypt in the 18th Dynasty. He is usually shown wielding an **axe** or **mace**. In Egyptian depictions, he still wears the Syrian style of beard, but with the Egyptian white crown with a gazelle head attached at the front and long streamers. He is referred to on the “Sphinx Stela” of **Amenhotep II** recording the pharaoh’s exploits as a prince and formulating the militaristic **ethos** of the period. In the record of the **Libyan War** of his year 5, **Ramesses III** describes his **chariot-warriors** as “powerful as Reshep.”

RETABA, TELL EL-. Ramesside **fortress** in the **Wadi Tumilat**.

RETENU. A term found from the Middle Kingdom onward for Syria–Palestine. It is specified as Upper Retenu, a region covering northern Palestine (**Canaan**), and the later kingdoms of **Israel** and **Judah**, and Lower Retenu, Syria. In Egyptian (and English transcriptions), the name can appear as both *Retenu* and *Retjenu*.

REWARD. Reward was given on the field of battle and after a campaign. Reward could take the form of gold jewelry (gold **flies** being specifically

mentioned), slaves (people captured during the campaign), captured **chariots** and other military equipment, and land. The autobiographical inscriptions of the 18th Dynasty, notably that of **Ahmose son of Ebana**, provide good evidence for the practice. Ahmose son of Ebana fought in the Nubian campaigns of **Ahmose I**, **Amenhotep I**, and **Thutmose I**, from which he records bringing eight hands of slain enemies. He also took male and female captives, some of whom were given to him, others were exchanged. When he captured a chariot, **horse**, and soldier, he gave them to Thutmose I and was rewarded for it with gold. It is significant that the pharaoh kept the chariot, as they were probably still quite rare in Egypt at this time. Ahmose was rewarded with gold on seven occasions. As for slaves, he was given a total of 19 captives: one male from Avaris, eight persons (sex unspecified) presumably Nubians (five were in exchange for two warriors captured). Of the specified women captives, three were from Avaris, two were Asiatic, four Nubian (two were in exchange for two male captives given to the pharaoh). He was also given five arurae of land in his home town of **Nekheb**. A text in the tomb of an official named Mose, of the reign of **Ramesses II**, records a lengthy legal dispute arising among the descendants of another soldier who had been granted land by Ahmose I.

The Wilbour Papyrus provides evidence for veterans settled with small landholdings in Middle Egypt in the 20th Dynasty. The policy of settling veterans continued into Ptolemaic and Roman times, especially in the **Fayum**, where Greek **cleruchs** and Egyptian **machimoi** were given land. Ramesside **battle scenes** (e.g., **Qadesh**; and the scenes at **Medinet Habu** of **Ramesses III's** wars against the **Libyans**) depict scribes making multiple records of the severed hands and phalli of the defeated. This not only provided an accurate record of the slain, but was no doubt also related to the distribution of rewards.

RHINOCOLURA. The Greek name (in some sources *Rhinocorura*) for the modern town of el-Arish, at the end of the Wadi el-Arish in north **Sinai**. Rhinocolura stood on the **Ways of Horus** and is probably the same as the town of the **Brook-of-Egypt** that marked the frontier between Egypt and the empire of **Assyria**, and later Egypt and Babylonia.

ROME. Although Rome had long-standing economic contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt, it did not become actively involved in its politics until the reign of **Ptolemy VI**. When the **Seleukid** king, **Antiochos IV**, invaded Egypt, the government appealed to Rome to intervene on behalf of the young king Ptolemy VI, which it eventually did. With expanding Roman interests in the eastern Mediterranean and almost constant **dynastic wars** in Egypt, the two powers were drawn ever closer. The first Roman force to enter Egypt was that of the Roman legate of Syria, Aulus Gabinius, who reinstated **Ptolemy XII Auletes**. On this occasion, the cavalry was under the command of

Marcus **Antonius**. A Roman force, called the ***Gabinians***, was left in **Alexandria** and played a significant role in later events. The Roman Civil War brought **Iulius Caesar** to Egypt with an army. His support of **Kleopatra VII** against her brother, **Ptolemy XIII**, resulted in the **Alexandrian War**. The later phases of the Roman Civil War, and Kleopatra's association with Marcus Antonius, led to further conflict, culminating in the battle of **Aktion** and the fall of Egypt to **Augustus**. Egypt then became a province of the Roman Empire and was placed under the rule of a **prefect**.

SAHURE (reigned c. 2487–2475 BC). Pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty. His pyramid temple at Abusir near **Memphis** was decorated with elaborate reliefs, of which only fragments survive. These show the pharaoh smiting a chief of the **Libyans**; part of the booty or **tribute** of Asia, including two Syrian bears; soldiers running, accompanying a ship; and chiefs of the **Nubians**. The scene of the Libyan chief was duplicated in the temple of **Pepy II**. The scenes suggest the foreign relations of Egypt during this reign and hint at military activities in **Libya** and Asia, the latter using the **navy**, but without more precise inscriptional evidence, nothing more substantial can be said about them. Sahure also sent an expedition along the Red Sea to **Punt**, but this was to acquire precious commodities, notably incense, although it was doubtless accompanied by soldiers.

SAI. Island in the Nile between the Second and Third **Cataracts**. Sai was the seat of the Kushite kingdom of Shaat, documented in Egyptian records from the Sixth Dynasty to the Middle Kingdom. It may have been absorbed by **Kerma**, to which it appears to have been vassal. It also served as a northern buffer zone between Kerma and the Egyptian Middle Kingdom **border** at **Semna**. There is a large cemetery of the Kerma culture on the island. An Egyptian **fortress** and settlement was established here in the early 18th Dynasty. The names of **Ahmosé I** and **Amenhotep I** suggest that the fort was founded then, following the Egyptian recapture of **Buhen** and the Second Cataract. Initially, the early 18th Dynasty pharaohs appear not to have aimed at conquering Kerma. The inscription of **Thutmose I** implies a relatively peaceful phase during which the **garrison** pastured their cattle in the lush territory of Kerma. Sai must have formed the main base from which the attacks on **Kush** were launched in the reigns of Thutmose I, **Thutmose II**, **Hatshepsut**, and **Thutmose III**. In the later 18th Dynasty, new towns were built a little to the south of Sai, at Sedeinga, Soleb, and Sesebi. These were foundations of **Amenhotep III** and **Akhenaten**, which focused on large temples. In the 19th Dynasty, **Sety I** founded a fortified town near Sai, at Amara West. Sai was presumably abandoned by the Egyptians at the end of the 20th Dynasty, as was Amara.

SAIS. *See* SAU.

SAKHMET. Belligerent lioness-headed goddess, identified with the “Eye of **Re**” (hence with **Hathor** and **Tefnut**). She was the personification of divine rage. She was the wife of the god Ptah of Memphis, but in the 18th Dynasty was also equated with the goddess Mut, consort of **Amun**. In the temple of

Mut in **Thebes** were more than 700 statues of Sakhmet. Many of these carry epithets revealing the goddess's fearsome nature: "flame of Mut," "smiter of the Nubians." At the battle of **Qadesh**, **Ramesses II** was identified with a number of bellicose deities, notably **Monthu**, **Seth**, **Baal**, and the **griffon**, and he is also likened to "Sakhmet in the moment of her rage." His enemies warn that Sakhmet is with him and that her fiery breath burns those who approach him. This association goes back to the Middle Kingdom when the wrath of the pharaoh against rebels was "like the rage of Sakhmet" and **Sinuhe** said that the fear of King **Amenemhat I** was "throughout the lands like Sakhmet in a year of plague."

SANAKHT (fl.c. 2686–2667 BC). A pharaoh of the Third Dynasty. A fragmentary sandstone relief from Wadi Maghara in **Sinai** records Sanakht. This depicts the king smiting a now-lost figure and presumably relates to a campaign in the vicinity of the turquoise mines.

SAPPERS. Men are shown with large stakes undermining the **walls** of a fortified settlement in the late Old Kingdom tomb of Inti at **Deshasheh** and the contemporary tomb of Kaemheset at Saqqara. The reliefs of the attack on Lachish by the king of **Assyria**, **Sennacherib**, in 701 BC show a similar, if more sophisticated, attempt to undermine the walls. Because Egyptian fortifications were of unburned mud brick, undermining was possible, although most **fortress** walls are extremely thick.

SAQQARA. The main necropolis of the city of **Memphis** standing on the desert plateau overlooking the Nile Valley. The site is dominated by the pyramid complexes of pharaohs of the Third, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties. Some of these (**Userkaf**, **Unas**, and **Pepy II**) contained scenes depicting **soldiers** and military action. The late Old Kingdom tomb of Kaemheset is one of the earliest to depict an attack on a **fortress**, with **scaling ladders** and **sappers** undermining the **walls**. A number of tombs of military officials of the late 18th and early 19th Dynasties have been excavated, and more will doubtless be identified as this area of the site is explored further. One of the most significant of these is the tomb of **Horemheb**, which was prepared for him before he became pharaoh. Dating from the reign of **Tutankhamun**, when Horemheb was the leading general, the tomb has important relief decoration showing the reward following military actions in **Nubia** and in **Syria** against the **Hittites**. Close to Horemheb's tomb is that of his close contemporary, Ramose. There is also the tomb of the army scribe Huy, who lived in the early 19th Dynasty. Sculptured blocks from New Kingdom tombs were found near the pyramid of Teti and include scenes depicting the manufacture of **arrows** and **drill** exercises (from the tomb of Ipuia).

SARGON II (reigned 720–705 BC). Emperor of **Assyria**. At Sargon's

accession, **rebellions** broke out throughout the empire. In **Syria**, Yau-bi'di king of Hamath led the rebellion of Arpad, Damascus, and Samaria, but Sargon swiftly marched his armies west, confronting the coalition at the battle of **Qarqar (720 BC)**. He then moved south recapturing the rebel cities and advanced on **Gaza** where the Egyptians had restored their vassal, Khanunu. He continued toward Egypt, defeating an Egyptian army, led by a general, Re'e, at **Raphia (720 BC)**, which was looted and destroyed. Sargon did not advance farther in this campaign, but in 716 BC, he installed an **Arab** leader of one of the tribes of north **Sinai** in the "city of the **Brook-of-Egypt**," giving him some control over the **Ways of Horus**. In the same year, the Assyrians record **tribute of horses** paid by an Egyptian ruler called "Shilkanni," who must be the pharaoh Osorkon, probably of Per-Bastet (Bubastis).

Sargon received further tribute of horses around 712 BC, from the rulers of Egypt and Gaza. These rulers were certainly Libyan dynasts of the **Delta**. Some time after 712 BC came the rebellion of Yamani, ruler of Ashdod. The date of this is still uncertain; most scholars assuming the period 712–710 BC, but in the light of a recently published rock inscription at Tang-i Var (in Iran), a date as late as 706 BC has been proposed for the subsequent events. As the Assyrians approached Ashdod, Yamani fled to "Meluhha" (**Kush**), but was extradited by the ruler. The incident is important because it is the first recorded direct contact between the Kushite rulers and Assyria. The identity of the Kushite king is still unclear: it could be **Piye**, **Shabaqo**, or **Shebitqo**. The event must have taken place before Shabaqo had defeated **Tefnakht** of **Sau** and brought all of Egypt under his rule, after which the Kushites appear to have become hostile to Assyrian ambitions.

SATRAP. The term used for the Governor of Egypt when under the rule of the Great Kings of Persia (525–332 BC, with interruptions). The Satrap was responsible for both civil and military matters. The first satrap, Aryandes, was appointed by **Cambyses**. According to a late literary tradition, Aryandes was driven out of Egypt following the death of Cambyses (522 BC), perhaps when an Egyptian prince (possibly Pedubast III) attempted to make himself pharaoh. Aryandes was restored in 518 BC by **Darius I** and sent a military expedition against Barca in **Cyrenaica**. According to Herodotos, Aryandes was executed by Darius I in about 496 BC, being replaced by Pherendates who might have been killed in the **rebellion** of 486–85 BC.

On his accession, **Xerxes I** (486–465 BC) suppressed the rebellion and installed his brother, Achaimenes, as satrap (c. 486–85 BC). Achaimenes pursued a more suppressive policy, and his reign (c. 486/85–459 BC) saw further bids for independence by local Egyptian princes. **Psamtik IV**, the ruler of the far western Delta, led one rebellion (perhaps 486 BC or c. 470),

followed by the much larger rebellion of his son **Inaros**, which broke out at Xerxes' death (465 BC). Inaros and **Amyrtaios** (1) received aid and mercenaries from **Athens**. They had some successes, capturing **Memphis**. Achaimenes was killed at the battle of **Papremis**, but the rebels were besieged for 18 months at **Prosopitis**, before being captured. Following the death of Achaimenes, Megabyxus, satrap of **Syria**, commanded the Persian forces in Egypt. There were other Egyptian princes operating anti-Persian policy with support from Athens, another Psamtik and **Amyrtaios** (2) of Sau (probably the later pharaoh).

The next documented satrap, also a member of the royal family, was Arsames, appointed by **Artaxerxes I** (c. 428 BC). Arsames supported Darius II in the brief dynastic war that followed Artaxerxes' death (424 BC). Evidence from the archive of the Jewish **mercenaries** on **Abu** (Elephantine) indicates that Arsames was absent from Egypt for an extended period (c. 410–407/406 BC), apparently some of the time being spent on his estates in Babylonia. Arsames appears to have died before the great rebellion on the death of Darius II (404 BC), which gained independence for Egypt under the pharaoh **Amyrtaios**.

The satrap headed the administration from his main residence in Memphis. District governors (*frataraka*) were subordinate to the satrap, but also officials who reported on his actions: satraps frequently attempted to make their satrapies kingdoms, and themselves kings. Such moves usually took place on the death of the Great King, when disputed succession and rebellion throughout the empire were usual. In Egypt, only Aryandes seems to have been deposed for assuming too royal a style.

The satrap was also responsible for the **garrisons** that are well documented in the Persian period. There were Jewish mercenaries at Abu (Elephantine) and other Asiatics at **Aswan**. Other garrisons were at **Pelusion** and Marea in the western **Delta**. The fortress of **Babylon** was constructed at this time.

With the reconquest of Egypt by **Artaxerxes III** a satrap, Pherendates was again appointed (343 BC). His successor, Sabaces, was killed following the Persian defeat at the battle of Issos (333 BC). When the Macedonian adventurer, **Amyntas**, entered Egypt later in the same year, he claimed that he was the new satrap appointed by Darius III. The real appointee, Mazaces, defeated Amyntas but yielded Egypt to **Alexander the Great**. Alexander made a number of appointments in Egypt, placing the civil and military under different officials. He acknowledged Kleomenes as satrap of Egypt. Following Alexander's death at Babylon (323 BC), Egypt was seized by the general Ptolemy (**Ptolemy I**), who put Kleomenes to death and assumed the title of satrap himself. Ptolemy reigned as satrap for 18 years, acknowledging the nominal authority of the Macedonian kings Alexander IV and Philip Arrhidaios, before following the example of the other **diadochoi** and proclaiming himself king (305 BC).

SAU. City of the western **Delta**, standing on a branch of the Nile. It is generally known by the Greek form of the name, *Sais*. Of ancient origin, it came under the rule of **Libyan** dynasts in the Third Intermediate Period and was the seat of **Tefnakht**, who expanded his power to **Memphis** and into Middle Egypt, provoking the campaign of **Piye**. Tefnakht's successor, **Bakenranef**, assumed royal style and the later ruler of Sais, **Nekau I**, was a vassal of **Assyria**. However, when Nekau changed sides, the Assyrians invaded the Delta and attacked Sau, flaying the rebels and hanging their skins from the walls. Another Assyrian text states that the hearts of the rebels were impaled on stakes around the city. Nekau's son **Psamtik I** reunited Egypt and threw off the Assyrian yoke, establishing the 26th Dynasty. During this period, Sau was one of the main royal residences and the kings encouraged the Greek trading center at **Naukratis** nearby.

SCALING LADDER. Scaling ladders are found intermittently in Egyptian military records. They appear in the Old Kingdom scenes of attacks on walled settlements in the tombs of Inti at **Deshasheh** and **Kaemheset** at **Saqqara**; being used against Egyptian towns in the early Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan; and in Ramesside attacks on the towns of **Syria**. The Victory Stela of **Piye** refers to scaling ladders in the attacks on the walled towns of Middle Egypt. In the attack on **Memphis**, the masts of the ships were used as a form of scaling ladder to breach the **walls**. The reliefs showing the attack by the army of **Sennacherib**, king of **Assyria**, on Lachish (701 BC) also show scaling ladders.

SCIMITAR. A curved sword, with the cutting edge on the inner side. The Egyptians did not use the true scimitar, although the term has been applied to the **khepesh**, which was a similar shape, but was a heavy slashing weapon.

SCORPION (reigned c. 3200 BC). The name used in Egyptological **literature** to identify a king of Upper Egypt of the late Predynastic Period (now called *Dynasty 0*), who dedicated a ceremonial **mace** head at **Nekhen**. This carries scenes including the royal standards with **rekhyt** birds hanging from them, suggestive of defeat of peoples in the unification of Egypt.

SEA PEOPLES. A term applied to a number of ethnic groups who were involved in conflict with Egypt in the 19th and 20th Dynasties. The Sea Peoples have also been associated with mass movement of population and major destruction of sites throughout Anatolia and western Asia at the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 1200–1150 BC). The peoples involved were the **Peleset**, **Lukki**, **Shekelesh**, **Weshesh**, **Shardana**, **Tjekker**, **Teresh**, and **Ekwesh**. Some of these peoples are known independently from a variety of Egyptian sources from the late 18th Dynasty onward. Some of the names can certainly be associated with specific places (such as the Peleset and

Palestine), others have generated more controversy (and are noted in the appropriate entries here). How we choose to understand the geographical associations of the names is fundamental to our interpretation of the nature of the Sea Peoples episodes. For example, the name *Shardana* (or *Sherden*) is generally accepted as being connected with Sardinia: but whether the Shardana came from the island we call Sardinia or whether they went there from the eastern Mediterranean after these events is central to the problem.

In Egypt, the evidence comes from the inscriptions relating to invasions in year 5 of **Merenptah** and year 8 of **Ramesses III**. The groups involved in the invasion of year 5 of Merenptah were the Shardana, Teresh, Shekelesh, Ekwesh, and Lukka. The majority of the force were, however, **Libyans** and the Sea Peoples were less than a third of the total number. In this instance, it seems most likely that the Libyans were the prime movers, accompanied by the other groups as **mercenaries**. In year 8 of Ramesses III, the Libyans were not involved and the invaders were the Shardana, Teresh, Shekelesh, Peleset, Denyen, Weshesh, and Tjekker. The presence of carts carrying women and children has suggested that this invasion represents a movement of population in search of somewhere to settle by both land and sea.

The scholarly view of the Sea Peoples that developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and which can be found in many histories, was that of invasions from the north displacing populations in Anatolia who were then forced southward into Syria and Palestine. The effect was to destabilize the **Hittite** Empire and cause massive destructions in major sites along the coast, such as Ugarit. The collapse of Mycenaean Greece is also attributed to the same ultimate cause. The reassessment by Robert Drews suggests that many of the peoples came from the places whose names they appear to carry, and that they were mercenaries, pirates, and raiders, rather than a mass population movement.

SEKHEMKHET (reigned c. 2648–2640 BC). Pharaoh of the Third Dynasty.

A relief from Wadi Maghara in **Sinai** shows Sekhemkhet smiting with a **mace**. This is one of a series of reliefs of the Third and Fourth Dynasties that record Egyptian activities in Sinai, related to the turquoise mines. Although conventional royal images, they perhaps indicate some military activities.

SELEUKIDS. On the death of **Alexander the Great** at **Babylon** in 323 BC, the generals recognized his half-brother and infant son as his legitimate heirs, but in actuality partitioned the empire among themselves. The succeeding two decades saw the power struggles of the *diadochoi* (“Successors”) for control of parts of, or attempts to reunite, the empire. The contest culminated at the battle of Ipsos in 301 BC. This left Seleukos I as “King of **Syria**,” although his empire actually stretched as far as India.

The heirs of Seleukos I, most with the names Antiochos and Seleukos, controlled parts of Asia Minor, north **Syria**, Mesopotamia, and Persia, with their major cities at Sardes in Lydia, Antioch near the mouth of the Orontes, **Babylon**, and Susa. There were frequent conflicts with the Ptolemies for control of **Coele Syria**, which had been occupied by **Ptolemy I**. These **Syrian Wars** culminated in the Egyptian victory at the battle of **Raphia**. Although the Syrian question was largely resolved by the marriage of **Ptolemy V** with Kleopatra I, the complex intermarriages of their descendants, various Kleopatras, with rival Seleukid kings, resulted in **dynastic wars**. This was further aggravated by the conflict of **Kleopatra III** and **Ptolemy IX** in the **Syrian War** of 103–101 BC.

The Seleukid Empire lost its easternmost provinces to the Indian ruler Chandragupta Maurya and Greek and Macedonian adventurers who established small kingdoms in Baktria. Later, the Parthians, the new power in Persia, removed the central part of the empire from the Seleukids. The Seleukids used **elephants** in their armies, a practice that was copied by the Ptolemies.

SEMA-KHASUT. Nubian **fortress**, somewhere in the vicinity of Gebel Barkal and the Fourth **Cataract**. It was built by **Thutmose III** and is referred to on a stela later erected in the temple of **Amun** at Gebel Barkal. This text states that the fortress had a chapel dedicated to the god Amun. No archaeological remains that can be associated with the fortress have yet been identified in the region. There is a possibility that, like most of the fortresses farther north in **Nubia**, Sema-khasut stood on an island. However, such a theory can only be confirmed by survey. It is generally assumed that Sema-khasut is identical with **Napata** in the inscription of year 3 of **Amenhotep II** at Amada. The **fortress name** means “Destroying the foreign lands.”

SEMNA. Nubian **fortress** at the head of the Second **Cataract**, controlling, with **Kumma** and the outpost of Semna South, a narrow channel running through a rocky gorge at the head of the cataract. Semna stood in a commanding position on the west bank of the Nile at a point that marked Egypt’s southern frontier in the Middle and early New Kingdoms. It stood in one of the most desolate parts of **Nubia** at the southern end of the Batn el-Hagar (Belly of Rock). Semna was within signaling distance of the island fortress of **Uronarti** and part of a communication network going to **Mirgissa**.

Semna was built by **Senusret III**. It had an L-shaped plan dictated by the eminence on which it was built. The fort was surrounded by a dry ditch on the, north, west, and south sides. On the east, the rocky escarpment sloped down to the river. The massive mud-brick walls, 6.8 meters thick, were built on masonry foundations and had projecting towers. The north and

south gates, of conventional design with inner and outer gates and space between, stood at either end of the “main street,” which itself formed part of the **pomoerium**. The external access to both gates was uphill. The only other gate was the much smaller water gate that gave access, down 131 steps between defensive walls, to the river. The main walls were over 10 meters high, although nowhere preserved to their original height. They were built on a foundation of granite rubble and in places on the natural bedrock. The walls were of unbaked mud brick strengthened with timbers. These timbers ran through the walls both parallel to the faces and through the thickness. As in some other Nubian forts, some of these strengthening timbers had burned (perhaps during an attack), resulting in the firing of the mud bricks of a large area of the west end of the fort. The walls have bastions at the corners, gateways and other defensive points.

The accommodation at Semna is dominated by barrack-style complexes of three rooms, and held the largest **garrison** south of **Mirgissa**. These complexes could have housed between 4 and 10 men each, allowing a rough estimate of between 216 and 540 for the west wing alone (the excavator, George Reisner, gave a rather conservative maximum of 300 men for the whole fort). A recent assessment of the defense needs of a fort, at one man per meter of wall, provides a much higher figure, 800 men. Even if this was necessary for full defense, that capacity may only have been reached occasionally. If we allow 1 to 2 meters of wall per man, Semna would have required about 400 men, consistent with the higher estimate of barrack potential.

There were remains of three temples, associated with the three major periods of occupation during the Middle and New Kingdoms and the reign of the Kushite pharaoh **Taharqo** (690–664 BC). The facade of the New Kingdom temple (built by **Thutmose III**) carries a relief and inscription of the Kushite queen **Karimala** referring to **civil war** in the country (probably to be dated sometime during the 9th–8th centuries BC).

The **fortress name** was Sekhem-Khakaure, “Kha-kau-Re is Powerful,” Kha-kau-Re being the throne name of Senusret III. The fort marked his southern boundary. The Semna stelae (now in the Berlin Museum) give an account of Senusret III’s command to his troops to protect the **border** and the role of pharaoh to extend the boundaries of Egypt. One role of the fortress was to control Kushites passing northward by land or river and allowing only those who had come to trade (which was carried out at the great depot of Mirgissa). A papyrus document, the Semna Dispatches (London, British Museum), details the observations made of people passing the fort in the late Middle Kingdom.

A small outpost, Semna South, stood on the west bank about one kilometer to the south of the main fort, controlling the access to the narrow river gorge. Surrounded by a stone glacis 10 meters wide, it had an outer girdle wall of mud brick four meters wide and a dry ditch 7.50 meters wide.

Inside this was the main enclosure with square bastions. The walls, 12 meters wide at the base, were built on an artificial terrace cut into the alluvium. All of these defenses enclosed an internal area measuring 34 meters by 33 meters, but without any permanent structures. There might have been spur walls in the river to make the channels deeper and therefore easier for navigation, and to direct ships toward the narrow rocky channel. Semna South also prevented any enemy troops landing close to the main fortress.

SENMUT. The name of a **fortress** in the region of **Aswan** and the First **Cataract**. It has often been equated with the large island of Bigga, at the head of the cataract, and there is evidence that the island had that name in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. However, it has recently been suggested that the earlier fortress of Senmut might actually be a name for the whole region enclosed by the **wall** that ran from Aswan to the head of the cataract, and which probably dates to the joint reign of **Amenemhat II** and **Senusret II**.

SENNACHERIB (reigned 704–681 BC). Emperor of **Assyria**, of the Sargonid dynasty. Sennacherib ascended the throne on the death of his father, **Sargon II**. In response to the “**rebellion**” of Hezekiah of **Judah**, Sennacherib led the Assyrian armies westward in 701 BC. Hezekiah sought help from Egypt, and an army was dispatched, according to the biblical narrative, under the command of **Taharqo**. The reigning pharaoh was probably **Shabaqo**. The Egyptian force was defeated at the **battle** of **Eltekeh** and withdrew to **Gaza**. Sennacherib’s army divided, one part besieging Lachish and the other **Jerusalem**, until Hezekiah capitulated. The later years of Sennacherib’s reign were preoccupied with events in **Babylon**, allowing Egypt under **Shebitqo** and Taharqo to expand their influence in **Syria** and Palestine.

SE Nusret I (reigned c. 1965–1920 BC). Pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty. Most Egyptologists think that there was a joint rule between Senusret I and his father **Amenemhat I**, lasting for 10 years. This would have included some of the major military actions in **Nubia**. Senusret I continued the Egyptian expansion into Nubia begun by **Menthuhotep II** and Amenemhat I. This began with the conquest of **Wawat**, as far as Girgawi, followed by the journey through the southern part of Wawat by the Vizier Inyotefiqer to “pacify” the country and a final advance to **Buhen** and the Second Cataract. Senusret I was responsible for the construction of some of the Nubian **fortresses: Kubban, Ikkur, and Aniba**, between Aswan and the Second Cataract, and **Buhen**. The Nubian campaigns are recorded by the rock inscriptions of Inyotefiqer and others at Girgawi, and by inscriptions of high officials from various parts of Egypt. Among those who took part were Ameny, the no-march of Beni Hassan in Middle Egypt, and Sirenput I of

Aswan. Two stelae in the Florence Museum also record the victories. Senusret I was also active in the amethyst mines of **Wadi el Hudi** in Lower Nubia, the Wadi Hammamat and **desert** route to the Red Sea. A fragment of a battle scene was recovered from his pyramid complex at Lisht.

SENUSRET II (reigned c. 1880–1874 BC). An inscription of the official Hepu, dated after Senusret II's year 35, is carved on a rock on which the **wall** from **Aswan** to the head of the First **Cataract** is constructed. This suggests that the wall was built at that time.

SENUSRET III (reigned c. 1874–1855 BC). Pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty. Senusret III consolidated the Egyptian expansion into **Nubia** and control of **Wawat** and the Second Cataract. There was an advance south of the cataract into the territory of **Kush**, but this was not followed up. The events are documented by rock inscriptions from **Aswan** to Dal, by private stelae of officials, and by two stelae from **Semna**, now in the Berlin Museum. The first campaign was in year 8. This established the boundary at Semna and saw the construction of a fort there. The canal through the First Cataract at Sehel was cleared for shipping. A second campaign might have taken place in year 9. A third expedition in year 10 went south of the Second Cataract. It is recorded on its return journey at Dal, but there is no reference or indication of military actions (although doubtless large contingents of the army accompanied it) and it might have been peaceful, or a show of strength south of the **border**. Year 16 saw the completion of the **fortress** of **Uronarti** and the setting up of the second stela at Semna. A rock inscription at Uronarti and a private stela of the official, Sasetet, record a military action in year 19. Senusret completed the construction of the Second Cataract forts, most notably those protecting the narrowest point of the river, Semna, and **Kumma**. The two stelae in Berlin define Senusret's attitude toward the frontier and its defense. There was one Asiatic campaign, documented by the stela of **Sobekhu** now in the Manchester Museum (3306). This involved an attack on Shechem. A fragment of a **battle scene** was recovered from the pyramid complex at Dashur.

SEPED. Libyan tribal group. The Seped were associated with the **Meshwesh**, and the **Libu** in the **Libyan War** of year 5 of **Ramesses III**.

SEQENENRE. *See* TAO.

SESOSTRIS or SESONCHOSIS LEGEND. The legend of the world conqueror Sesostris appears in a number of Greek and Roman sources. It is clearly based upon **Ramesses II** and his throne name Usermaetre.

SETH. Belligerent deity associated with **deserts** and storms. Seth was the son of the goddess Nut, from whose body he violently ripped his entry into the

world. He was depicted with an animal's head with a long snout and tall, straight, flat-tipped ears. The Egyptians had an ambivalent attitude to this deity, although he was favored in certain districts and at certain periods. Seth became associated with the Syrian thunder god **Baal**, and texts will often parallel the two, so in a literary fragment relating to **Thutmose III's** Syrian Wars, the **horses** of the pharaoh's enemies become Baal and Seth. **Ramesses II**, however, is himself likened to "Seth great-of-strength, Baal in person" at the battle of **Qadesh**. Other inscriptions of the pharaoh's rage in battle allude to Seth as "the son of Nut" without actually naming him. Through the equation with Baal, Seth became associated with the goddesses **Anath** and **Astarte**.

SETY I (reigned c. 1294–1279 BC). Pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty. Sety was a military officer and governor of **Tjaru** in the reign of **Horemheb**. Horemheb appears to have appointed an elderly military official as his successor, who ascended the throne as Ramesses I, although it seems certain that he took a longer view and intended the throne for Sety and his sons. In his first year Sety led a campaign against the **Shasu**. This involved a march from Tjaru to **Gaza** along the **Ways of Horus**. The ruler of Hammath sent troops to occupy **Beth Shean**. In response, Sety sent divisions against Hammath, Beth–Shean (where a stela was set up), and Yenoam, all of which were captured. The effect was to secure the Esdraelon plain and north Jordan Valley. Sety was now probably able to occupy Galilee and the coast as far as Tyre.

In succeeding campaigns, Sety led his armies to Yenoam and Damascus, and along the Sea Coast through Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and **Sumur**. The third or fourth campaign involved an engagement with the **Hittites**. In year 4 or 5 Sety led his army westward against the **Libyans**. This was the first major offensive recorded against the Libyans for a considerable period of time. This action marks an Egyptian response to the eastward movement of Libyans, a process that continued in the reign of **Ramesses II** and culminated with a Libyan invasion of Egypt in the reign of **Merenptah**. The importance that Sety accorded to his Libyan campaign is indicated by its inclusion among the other wars, which were depicted in relief on the north exterior wall of the hypostyle hall of the temple of **Amun** at Karnak (**Thebes**).

In year 5 or 6, Sety I directed a campaign against **Qadesh**. This was part of the continuing hostility between Egypt and the **Hittites**, which had begun late in the reign of **Akhenaten** and had come to conflict in the reign of **Tutankhamun** and also, perhaps, that of Horemheb. The **army** was probably transported by ship to the Phoenician coast, from where it marched inland. Qadesh was captured and a stela set up within it. The city seems to have come under Hittite control again shortly after and a **peace treaty** may have been drawn up. However, hostilities broke out again early

in the reign of Ramesses II.

In year 8, attention was directed to the south, when **Irem** in **Nubia** rebelled. Two stelae, from Amara and **Sai**, record that the army left the Nile Valley and crossed the **desert**. Following a battle, they returned with captives and booty. The text is typically imprecise, and a number of alternative locations for Irem, and hence direction of the expedition, have been suggested. Arguments have been made in favor of the oases to the west of the Nile in the Abri-Delgo Reach, the Bayuda Desert itself, or the Berber-Shendi Reach of the Nile.

The reign of Sety I marks a return to a much more active military involvement in western Asia following the relative peace of the later 18th Dynasty when Egypt was recognized as pre-eminent. This is a direct result of the collapse of the kingdom of **Mitanni** and the expansion of the Hittites into north Syria. The battle reliefs at Karnak vividly depict the expeditions and are some of the most important of such scenes to survive. The temple of Ramesses II at Beit el-Wali in Nubia also has scenes showing Nubian, Libyan, and Asiatic wars. Because the temple was constructed very early in Ramesses's reign, these military actions can be ascribed to the period when he was active as crown prince.

SETY II (reigned c. 1202–1196 BC). Pharaoh of the 19th Dynasty, son of **Merenptah**. Although Sety is attested as crown prince in his father's reign, there was a **dynastic war** following Merenptah's death, in which **Amenmesse** seized power in Upper Egypt. It is still not entirely clear whether the four-year reign of Amenmesse preceded, or was entirely within, that of Sety. No details of the incident are known, although it seems to have been effective, particularly in **Thebes** and in **Nubia**. Sety II suppressed it, and the usurper's monuments were reinscribed.

SHABAQO (reigned c. 711–695 BC). Kushite pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty (the name is often spelled *Shabaka*). According to the Graeco-Roman tradition, Shabako invaded Lower Egypt and defeated the Saite pharaoh **Bakenranef** (Bocchoris) in **battle**, then put him to death. Dated contemporary monuments show that Shabako was acknowledged throughout Egypt in his second regnal year. There are, however, no inscriptions recording the military activities that must have established his authority. In **Kush** and Upper Egypt, Shabako was the successor of **Piye**. The text on a large commemorative scarab in Toronto (Royal Ontario Museum) can be read as the record of military action in **Sinai**, but otherwise there are no known military texts of this reign. The biblical and Assyrian sources reveal that Egypt under Shabako became actively involved in the politics of western Asia. Early in Shabako's reign, Yamani, the ruler of Ashdod who had rebelled against **Sargon II**, was extradited to **Assyria**, and it was undoubtedly Shabako who later supported the **rebellion**

of Hezekiah of **Judah** against the Assyrians. Although it seems unlikely that Shabako himself led the army, an Egyptian–Kushite force was sent to Hezekiah's aid and engaged the Assyrians at the battle of **Eltekeh** (701 BC). This change of policy was undoubtedly connected with an increase in Egyptian influence in western Asia, and perhaps also with the change of ruler in Assyria itself.

SHALFAK. **Fortress** of the Second Cataract. Part of the defensive network of **Senusret III**. The fortress is similar in plan to **Uronarti** and likewise dictated by the topography of the site. The fort was situated on the west bank, and its defensive spur wall had towers on the **desert** side. Internally, it was regularly planned. Its **garrison** accommodation was between 60 and 150; its defense needs 180–360 or 220–480 including the spur walls. It was within signaling distance of both Uronarti, to the south, and another island fortress, **Askut**, to the north.

SHANGAR. The name for Babylonia as it appears in the **Amarna Letters**, with its capital at **Babylon** (Karduniash). At the time of the Amarna Letters, the Late Bronze Age of the Near East, Babylonia was ruled by the **Kassites** (c. 1595–1155 BC).

SHARDANA. One of the **Sea Peoples** who also appear as **mercenaries** in the Egyptian **army** of the late New Kingdom. In documents of the 20th Dynasty they are found settled as veterans in Middle Egypt, in the region of **Herakleopolis**. The name *Shardana* (or *Sherden*) is generally thought to relate to that of Sardinia. The usual interpretation is that, following the repulse of the Sea Peoples in year 8 of **Ramesses III**, the different groups were forced back into southern Palestine. Some groups, such as the **Peleset** (Philistines) settled there, but others sailed west, and settled in new homelands (e.g., the Shardana). A new interpretation, by Robert Drews, suggests that the Shardana actually came from Sardinia—and should be regarded as pirates, mercenaries, and raiders—at the close of the Late Bronze Age. In Egyptian reliefs from the time of **Ramesses II** and Ramesses III, the Shardana have distinctive facial features and wear a horned **helmet**. They carry sharp **swords**, spears, and a round shield. Bronze figures with similar horned helmets and **weapons** have been found on Sardinia, lending weight to an association of the Shardana with the island.

SHARUHEN. City of **Canaan**, its identity with surviving archaeological sites is still not absolutely certain: Tell el Far'a, Tell el Ajjul, and Tel Harer, all being proposed. The evidence from the whole region shows that there was a rapid process of large-scale and highly organized urban settlement in the Middle Bronze II–III periods. All the sites, large and small, coastal and inland, were fortified. They were situated at an average of 10 kilometers

apart, which is a high density for the environmental conditions. Sharuhén became the chief city of a kingdom flanked on the north by the kingdom of Ashkelon and on the east the kingdom of Hebron. The kingdom of Sharuhén was closely connected with the **Hyksos** kingdom of **Avaris**. The autobiographical text of **Ahmose son of Ibana** states that after the capture of Avaris, **Ahmose I** pursued the fleeing Hyksos, who took refuge at Sharuhén. There was either a **siege** lasting three years, or three consecutive campaigns, before the city fell. Sharuhén is later mentioned in the list of towns captured by **Sheshonq I**.

SHASU. A term used for nomadic peoples, Bedouin, of the eastern **border** of Egypt, **Sinai**, **Canaan**, and the Negeb. It is found in Egyptian texts from the 18th Dynasty to the Kushite period. Unlike more modern comparable groups, they did not have the **camel** as transport or pack animals. As with other populations that were not permanently settled and that could not therefore be controlled by the central authority (e.g., the **Libyans**), they were considered a threat and often associated in the bureaucratic mind with criminals and malcontents. Nomadic groups are attested as entering Egypt along the **Ways of Horus** in the Old Kingdom, in order to pasture their flocks during times when their own water sources dried. The texts locate the Shasu in Transjordan, Moab, and Edom. Timna, the copper mining region of Sinai was also part of the Shasu lands. Seasonal movements and raids were possible along a number of routes into north Syria and toward the coast. Of these, that through the Jordan and Jezreel Valleys was controlled by the Egyptian **garrison** at Beth-Shean. Military actions by pharaohs against the Shasu are documented for the reigns of **Sety I** and **Ramesses II**. A text probably of the reign of **Merenptah** reports that the Shasu had been given controlled entry through a frontier **fortress** to the wells of the **Wadi Tumilat**. There were settlements of Shasu in Middle Egypt at Spermeru, in the 20th Dynasty, and at Atfih. *See also* ARABS.

SHEBITQO (reigned c. 695–690 BC). Kushite pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty (the name is often spelled *Shabataka*). Because of uncertainties about the precise length of his reign, it has been proposed that he was the pharaoh who was responsible for sending an army to the aid of Hezekiah of **Judah**, which confronted the army of **Sennacherib**, king of **Assyria**, at the battle of **Eltekeh** in 701 BC. However, it seems more likely that this was his predecessor **Shabaqo**. The biblical record confuses the issue further by attributing the action to **Taharqo**. Shebitqo adopted an imperialist titulary, although there are no firmly documented campaigns during the reign. He is also shown being presented with the **khepesh**-sword by the god **Amun** in reliefs at **Thebes**. An inscription of the reign of Taharqo states that Shebitqo summoned him to Egypt, along with other princes and the **army**.

SHEKELESH. Ethnic group who served as **mercenaries** in the Egyptian

army. Also one of the **Sea Peoples**. Their name associates them with Sicily. Earlier Egyptologists assumed that they eventually settled on the island, although it has more recently been suggested that they came from Sicily as raiders and mercenary troops in the Late Bronze Age.

SHERDEN. *See* SHARDANA.

SHESHONQ I (reigned c. 945–924 BC). Libyan pharaoh of the 22nd Dynasty. Apparently related to an earlier Libyan pharaoh, Osorkon (known in literature as “Osochor” or “Osorkon the elder”), and descended from a line of increasingly powerful and influential Libyan chieftains, Sheshonq I established a new dynasty. His center of power was in the eastern **Delta**, at Per-Bastet (Bubastis), where Libyans had been settled in military encampments during the reign of **Ramesses II**. It took some time for Sheshonq to assert his authority over the whole of Egypt because he is still described as the “Chief of the Ma,” a Libyan tribal title, rather than by royal titles, in an inscription of his second year at Karnak. His highest known regnal year is 21.

The principal military record of the reign is the large relief on the south exterior wall of the great hypostyle hall in the temple of Karnak (**Thebes**). This depicted Sheshonq on a vast scale, smiting his enemies before an equally large figure of the god **Amun**, who grasps the lines of loops that contain the names of captured towns and countries. Altogether, 154 towns are named, many of which can confidently be identified. It is, however, more difficult to reconstruct the actual course of the campaign. The toponyms fall into several distinct groups, and it has been concluded that, after a coastal march through **Raphia** and **Gaza**, the army split into two or more divisions, one marching through southern **Judah** and the Negeb, the other through **Israel**. The southern army might have split into even smaller units: it certainly “captured” **Sharuhēn**. The northern army marched along a well-used route through Gezer, Aijalon, Beth-Horon to Shechem, Tirzah, Succoth, and eventually up to **Beth Shean**, Taanach and **Megiddo**, before turning back south to Aphek.

At Megiddo, Sheshonq set up a stela, of which only a small fragment survives. This is the only archaeological evidence that confirms the campaign, although attempts have been made to identify destruction levels at sites throughout Palestine with it. The equation of destruction levels with events recorded in literary sources is always difficult, and rarely accurate, relying as it does on the interpretations and premises of the excavators. It is also likely that many of the towns capitulated with the minimum of force being required (especially if they received little military assistance from the Israelite or Judaeans kings). Sheshonq’s campaign is certainly the most aggressive Egyptian military action in western Asia since late Ramesside times (the reign of **Ramesses VI**, if not that of **Ramesses III**), but does not

appear to have had any lasting results. Statues of Sheshonq I and two of his immediate successors suggest that Egyptian trading relations with Byblos continued, but the internal politics of Israel and Judah, with the interventions of Damascus and Assyria, (and perhaps also the ineffectiveness of the pharaohs themselves) prevented further Egyptian consolidation of Sheshonq's expedition.

It has been widely assumed that Sheshonq I led only one Asiatic campaign and that this came late in his reign. There are very few dated records of events in this reign and there is nothing to preclude a much earlier date for the campaign. It is also possible that the Karnak record in fact includes several different actions. If we are to assume that the Karnak list is of one season, then Sheshonq must have had enormous military reserves to be able to separate his army into so many divisions. A series of more concentrated expeditions, over perhaps three seasons, would have enabled him to direct the whole of his army against the fortified cities of Israel.

The campaign of Sheshonq I has generally been identified by Egyptologists with that of the "**Shishak**, king of Egypt" recorded in the biblical record (1 Kings, 14:25–6; 2 Chronicles 12:3–4). Shishak is said to have captured Jerusalem in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, which can be dated quite confidently to 925 BC. Close examination of the two records shows that the campaigns are certainly not the same. Nevertheless, the equation of "Shishak" with Sheshonq I is still generally recognized and has served as a chronological fixed-point.

SHIELD. The shield (in Egyptian *ikem*) was used as a defense against most weapons in hand-to-hand combat and against **arrows**. It comprised a wooden frame with animal hide stretched over it. This was frequently ox hide, indicated in depictions by the coloring and patterning and in writing by the use of an ox hide in the spelling of the word. Scenes of the **tribute** of **Nubia** depict shields covered with more exotic animal skins, probably cheetah and giraffe. Shields with ox hide were also part of the Nubian tribute, leather working being a product of **Kush**. Most shields were worn attached to the left arm and were flat along the base, with a pointed, arced, or semicircular top. Some shields tall enough to conceal a man are shown in Middle Kingdom scenes. Circular shields were used by the **Shardana**, the **Hittites**, and the **Assyrians**. In **chariot** warfare, the shield was carried by the driver of the chariot. **Ramesses II** names his shield-bearer at the **battle** of **Qadesh**, and in the scenes of the battle, the Egyptian **camp** is surrounded by a palisade of shields. Four functional and four ceremonial shields were found in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. The ceremonial shields have gilded openwork scenes in wood, showing, for example, the pharaoh as a victorious **sphinx** or slaying lions. The functional shields were covered with cheetah and antelope skins. Tutankhamun's ceremonial shields were

between 0.83 and 0.89 meters and the functional ones about 0.79 meters high. There is evidence that figure-of-eight shaped shields, used by the **Hittites**, were also manufactured in Egypt, but the rules affecting depiction of Egyptians means that they do not appear in scenes of battle.

SHISHAK. Pharaoh of Egypt referred to in the biblical record (1 Kings 14: 25–6; 2 Chronicles 12: 3–4). Shishak is said to have invaded **Judah** in the year 5 of king Rehoboam, captured **Jerusalem**, and taken the furnishings of Solomon’s temple and palace as **tribute**, instead of destroying the city. The event can be accurately dated to 925 BC. Shishak’s army comprised 1,200 **chariots**, 60,000 *parasiim* (taken to mean “horsemen”), and a number of foreign troops: **Libyans**, Sukiim, and **Kushites**. If *parasiim* is really to be understood as “**cavalry**,” it is an unexpectedly large number at a time when chariot warfare was still favored in Egypt, and the armies of **Assyria** deployed only small numbers of cavalry, mainly as outriders. Rehoboam had fortified 15 cities in Judah, all of which were captured in Shishak’s advance. Egyptologists have always identified Shishak with **Sheshonq I** and related the biblical record to that of Sheshonq’s Asiatic campaign recorded at Karnak. Some dissenting voices pointed out the fundamental differences between the campaign of Sheshonq I as documented by the Karnak inscription and that of Shishak in the biblical narrative. The campaign of Sheshonq I was certainly directed toward the Negeb region of Judah in the south and toward the kingdom of Israel, rather than to central Judah. Of the towns captured by Sheshonq I, only Aijalon is found among those that fell to Shishak. Even if “Shishak” is to be identified with Sheshonq I, it is certain that the biblical account and the Karnak inscription record two completely different campaigns.

SHUNET EL ZEBIB. Early Dynastic monument at Abydos, also known as the “Middle Fort.” It is a large rectangular enclosure with massive walls of mud brick, oriented to the cardinal points. It is similar in design to, and probably closely contemporary with, a mud-brick structure of the reign of **Khasekhemwy** at **Nekhen** (Hierakonpolis). Both structures were thought by earlier archaeologists to be **fortresses**, but are now thought to be religious, rather than military, edifices, associated with the burials of the Early Dynastic pharaohs. Nevertheless, the architecture must have close similarities to early defensive structures.

SIAMUN (reigned c. 978–950 BC). To this obscure pharaoh, an Asiatic campaign has been attributed on scanty evidence. A relief block from Tanis depicts Siamun smiting a figure of which only the hands are preserved. Siamun has been identified as the unnamed pharaoh who, according to the biblical account of 1 Kings 9:16, captured Gezer, and gave it as a dowry to his daughter who married Solomon, king of **Israel**. The Tanis relief fragment is cited in support of the biblical record. It is claimed that the

foreign figure holds a double-headed **axe** reminiscent of a type used in the Aegean and western Anatolia and that it therefore represents a **Philistine** or one of the **Sea Peoples**. As a result, it is stated that Siamun pursued a war in Philistia and was an ally of Israel. The equation of Siamun with the unnamed biblical pharaoh is based solely on the assumption that the dates calculated for the reigns of Solomon and Siamun are correct, which they probably are not. In consequence, Siamun's military activities and political involvement with Israel are unsubstantiated. The relief is most probably a conventional smiting scene.

SIEGE. Attacks on fortifications are depicted in the late Old Kingdom in the tomb of **Kaemheset** at **Saqqara** and Inti at **Deshasheh**. These employed scaling ladders and **sappers** to undermine the walls. Similar attacks on fortified towns appear in the late First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan.

Physical evidence of attack comes from the **fortress** of **Buhen** in **Nubia**. Such attacks may have followed sieges, but the direct evidence for siege is in the **literature**. In his pursuit of the **Hyksos**, **Ahmosé I** besieged **Sharuhen** for three years, or in three campaigns. **Thutmose III** besieged **Megiddo** for eight months. **Piye** laid siege to **Khmunu**, while his vassal, Pefthjauawybast, was himself besieged within **Herakleopolis**. These, and other sieges reported during Piye's campaign, were relatively short, probably lasting between days and months.

The length of a siege was dictated by practical factors of how long the occupants could withstand, depending on food supplies stored within the city and access to water. **Tefnakht** prepared for **Memphis** to be placed under siege by Piye, ensuring that the walls were in good order, the **garrison** equipped, and food brought into the city. Hezekiah of **Judah** prepared for the assault on **Jerusalem** by **Sennacherib** by constructing the Siloam tunnel to gain access to a good water supply. The scenes of Sennacherib's assault on Lachish, following the siege of the city, show the use of siege towers, sappers, and battering rams. Resistance by the besieged includes the usual weapons and a rain of lighted torches being thrown down on the attacking army.

Sieges were apparently accompanied by intensive diplomatic activity involving royal **envoys** to encourage capitulation. At Jerusalem, in an attempt to encourage internal opposition, Sennacherib's envoys broke protocol by using Hebrew to address the population gathered on the walls directly, rather than the diplomatic language. At Khmunu, the royal women of both sides acted as intermediaries between the besieged Nimlot and Piye.

SILE. See TJARU.

SINAI. A mountainous peninsula lying immediately east of Egypt. It is

roughly triangular in shape, flanked by the northern branches of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aqaba, and the Gulf of Suez. The northern coastal plain is sandy and was difficult to cross in ancient times. The coast road, the **Ways of Horus**, or Via Maris ran from the Egyptian frontier **fortresses** of **Tjaru** (Tell el-Hebwa) and **Pelusion** to **Brook-of-Egypt (Rhinocolura)** and **Gaza**. The difficulties of this road gave Egypt some protection from invasions, but not complete security, and significant battles occurred along its route. The southern parts of the peninsula have some important mineral resources, notably turquoise and copper. Sinai was inhabited by Bedouin **Arabs** and **Shasu**. These groups entered Egypt, sometimes seasonally, and the fortifications, in the **Wadi Tumilat** might have been, in part, intended to control them.

The First Dynasty pharaoh **Den** might have been active in Sinai, and evidence from the reign of **Khasekhemwy**, at the end of the Second Dynasty, has also been interpreted as referring to military actions in the region. Rock inscriptions of the Old Kingdom at the turquoise mines of Wadi Maghara usually depict the pharaoh in the act of smiting an “enemy,” although there are no detailed records of military activities. Doubtless any mining expedition was accompanied by contingents of the **army**. The pharaohs attested are **Sanakht**, **Sekhemkhet**, and **Sneferu**.

The pharaoh **Menthuhotep II** led one or more campaigns into Sinai after his reunification of Egypt. During the Middle Kingdom, activity was renewed at the turquoise mines of Wadi Maghara and Serabit el-Khadim. A defensive system, called the **Walls of the Ruler** was built by **Amenemhat I** to defend the Egyptian border. There is extensive archaeological evidence for the New Kingdom defenses of the border region, notably at Tjaru. Egyptian mining activity was concentrated at Serabit el-Khadim for turquoise and Timna for copper. The evidence from Timna spans the 19th and 20th Dynasties from the reign of **Ramesses II** to that of Ramesses V.

Most of the later evidence relating to Sinai is concerned with the coastal road, rather than the peninsula proper. A scarab of the Kushite pharaoh **Shabaqo** suggests military action against the Shasu. The **Assyrian** emperors, **Sargon II**, **Esarhaddon**, and **Ashurbanipal**, invaded Egypt and engaged Egyptian armies at Gaza and **Raphia**. The Babylonian king, **Nebuchadnezzar II**, also invaded Egypt using this route, as did the armies of Persia, the Macedonian adventurer **Amyntas**, and **Alexander the Great**. Along the coast, the Ptolemies confronted invasion by the **diadochoi**, and various **Seleukid** kings of Syria, most importantly when **Ptolemy IV** repulsed Antiochos III at the battle of Raphia (217 BC).

SINUHE. The *Tale of Sinuhe* is a literary work of Middle Kingdom date, surviving in numerous copies. The narrative begins with the death of **Amenemhat I**, while his son and coregent, **Senusret I**, was on a military campaign against the **Libyans**. The narrative tells that Sinuhe is with the

expedition and overhears the plotting of one of the princes: he flees. The remainder of the tale recounts his time abroad and eventual return to Egypt. Sinuhe spends his time with seminomadic tent-dwellers in **Retenu**. These would be comparable with, although they are not called, the **Shasu**. Sinuhe becomes commander of troops for the ruler of Retenu. He has to fight with the champion of Retenu. Sinuhe lists the weapons he uses: the self-bow (*pedjet*), dagger (*bagešu*), javelin (*nywv*), and **axe** (*minb*). In the combat, they begin with battle axe and **shield** and end with bow and **arrow**. Having slain his opponent, Sinuhe shouts his **war cry**, then takes his goods and his cattle.

SLING. A simple but effective weapon for firing stones. The sling is shown being used in assault on towns in the early Middle Kingdom tombs at Beni Hasan. Examples found in the tomb of **Tutankhamun** were made of linen. Despite its rare appearance in **battle scenes**, it was probably widely used. At the siege of Lachish, the army of **Sennacherib**, king of **Assyria**, includes **soldiers** using the sling. A sling shot from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods could be made of lead, and carried inscribed messages for the unfortunate recipient.

SNEFERU (reigned c. 2613–2589 BC). Pharaoh of the Fourth Dynasty. There are some indications that this reign might actually have been up to 48 years. The **Palermo Stone** records a campaign in **Nubia** against the Nehesyu, in which the king captured 7,000 people and 200,000 cattle. This might have been into the Eastern Desert, where there were seminomadic cattle herders or south of the Second Cataract, into the region later known as **Kush**. A rock-cut scene of the king smiting an enemy was carved at Wadi Mahgara in Sinai, probably in relation to the turquoise mines. The king is also known to have constructed a large fleet, including sea-going vessels built with cedar from Lebanon. He built a fortified defense on the eastern **border** called the “walls of the Southland and of the Northland called the Houses of Sneferu.” This might be a precursor of the **Walls of the Ruler** and the defense with a **canal** of the New Kingdom known from the 12th Dynasty,

SOBEKHU (fl.c. 1860 BC). Military official whose career under **Senusret III** is documented by a stela now in Manchester Museum (3306). Sobekhu was a warrior of the royal **bodyguard** and commanded seven men of the King’s Residence. He later became a follower (*Shemsu*) of the ruler with the command of 60 men. He finally rose to be an instructor of retainers with a contingent of 100 men “as a reward.” He served with the pharaoh on both Nubian and Asiatic campaigns.

SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT. Still a controversial subject in Egyptology. There is a strongly held view that the New Kingdom military service enabled individuals to gain social advancement. The evidence seems to

indicate a very closed elite, but nevertheless, both military and scribal talents might have led to social advancement, as in other societies. Even in closed elites, ability plays an important role, and with only a very limited number of top jobs, it must have been significant in an official's appointment. **Reward** was a reflection of, but also an aid to, advancement. There is good evidence for the award of plots of land to soldiers who, even if originally of quite humble origin, might thereby have acquired enough economic power to gain entry to the scribal class. The son of a soldier, **Ahmose son of Ebana** also began his career as a soldier, rising to become a crew commander. Active in many campaigns, he was rewarded with gold, slaves, and land. His tomb at **Nekheb** was at least partially decorated by his grandson, Paheri, who was a scribe of the treasury and mayor of the towns of Nekheb and Esna. It could be that Ahmose was the founder of the family fortunes.

SOLDIER. Although there must have been some men who became fulltime soldiers in the Old Kingdom, the bulk of the **army** was conscripted for specific purposes. The Egyptians employed **mercenaries** from a very early date, and these always formed a significant proportion of the army. The first mercenary troops attested are **Nubians**; later large numbers of **Libyans** and Asiatics, notably some of the **Sea People**, such as the **Shardana**, were recruited. In the Late and Ptolemaic Periods, Greeks from the Aegean and Anatolia, and **Jews**, also served.

Egyptian **literature** compares the hard life of the foot soldier with that of the **bureaucracy** who had the power to conscript levies and had a relatively easy life. Certainly training and **drill** was rigorous, but it was possible to achieve some wealth through **reward** after a **battle**, including parcels of land. Veterans (in the Ptolemaic period, called **cleruchs**) were also given land and this perhaps led to **social advancement**. The Greek writer Herodotos describes the military caste, called the **machimoi**, of the Late Period, although there is no evidence of it in earlier periods. Even though Egypt had a large fleet and **navy**, it was ordinary soldiers that fought on the ships.

SOMEIRA. Small **fortress** or **watchtower** of late Roman or Byzantine date, in the northern part of **Kharga Oasis**. The fort stands on the plain about two kilometers south of the almost identical tower of el-**Gib**. It is roughly square, 14 meters each side, with round corner towers (now collapsed) and an entrance on the south side. The interior is inaccessible, being a mass of fallen brickwork.

SPARTA. City and kingdom of southern Greece. Sparta was the dominant city of the Peloponnese and main political rival of **Athens**. It was at times supported by Persia—and as a monarchy was considered pro-Persian—compared with Athens' usual anti-Persian position. Sparta had direct

involvement with Egypt in the reign of **Nefaarud I**. In 396 BC, the Spartan king, **Agésilaios II**, sought an alliance with Nefaarud, prior to leading the Greek army against the Persians. This was refused, but in the following year, Nefaarud supplied the Spartan fleet, which was at Rhodes, with equipment for 100 **triremes** and 500,000 measures of corn. **Nakhtnebef** entered into an anti-Persian alliance with Sparta and Athens. Agésilaios II commanded a large force of Greek mercenaries when **Djedhor** invaded Palestine in 360 BC but lent his aid to the **rebellion** of **Nakhthorheb** later the same year.

In the reign of **Ptolemy III**, the rapid rise of Sparta under Kleomenes III (reigned c. 235–222 BC) dictated a change of Ptolemaic policy on mainland Greece. Kleomenes was supported by Egypt, but following his defeat by the Macedonian king, he fled to **Alexandria**. At the beginning of the reign of **Ptolemy IV**, he attempted a coup in Alexandria, but this collapsed and Kleomenes committed suicide (220–219 BC).

SPEAR. A stabbing weapon, the spear (in Egyptian *henty*) is first depicted on the late Predynastic Hunter's Palette, and many flint blades survive. It became a principal weapon of the **infantry**, but was also used by **chariot** warriors. A large wooden model of a contingent of Egyptian spearmen formed a companion to one of **Nubian archers** in the 12th Dynasty tomb of Mesehti at Asyut (these are now in the Cairo Museum). The blade, leaf-shaped, was of copper alloy (bronze) with a tang for attachment. Blades with sockets are common from the New Kingdom. The wooden handle of the spear could be long or short. **Battle scenes** show the short-handled spear being used as a stabbing weapon in close conflict. Chariot warriors are also shown using a short-handled stabbing spear. The long-handled spear (the lance) is also shown. The light-throwing spear (javelin) appears in the conflict between **Sinuhe** and the champion of **Retenu**. From the reign of **Sety I**, a quiver for javelins is shown attached to the royal **chariot**. The Ptolemaic army used the extremely long pike developed in Macedonia, the *sarissa*. This was organized in the **phalanx** of rows of soldiers, and is a completely different military formation to that of earlier periods. The phalanx was used with notable success by **Ptolemy IV** at the battle of **Raphia** (217 BC).

SPHINX. Solar image, usually combining a human head with a lion's body. The sphinx was the image of the pharaoh as the celestial conqueror. The sphinx could also have a falcon head (hieraco-sphinx or **griffon**), which usually identified it with **Monthu**; or a ram-head (criosphinx), identified with **Amun**. Female sphinxes could represent female members of the royal family and usually wore a wig with two long curls associated with the goddess **Hathor**. In the later 18th Dynasty, the female sphinx was the violent manifestation of the goddess Hathor, **Tefnut**. Tiye, **queen** of

Amenhotep III, was depicted as a female sphinx in the temple at Sedeinga in **Nubia**, where she was worshipped as the “Great of Terror.” Nefertiti wife of **Akhenaten** was also depicted as a female sphinx, trampling the female enemies of Egypt.

SQUAD. The smallest unit of the **army**, comprising 10 men. Five squads formed one **platoon**.

STANDARD, MILITARY. The standard was a square or rectangular plaque carried on a pole. It is shown as carrying a scene that is relevant to the name of the particular troop. The **police** also had standards. Royal standards accompanying the pharaoh carry images or emblems of deities. These are usually the canine Wepwawet and falcon **Horus**.

SUPPILULIUMA I (reigned c. 1344–1322 BC). Great King of the **Hittites**. The reign of Suppiluliuma saw Hittite expansion into north Syria, at the expense of **Mitanni** and **Egypt**. Evidence for events comes from a number of sources, notably a later text called “the Deeds of Suppiluliuma,” several peace treaties, and the **Amarna Letters**. The campaigns were not initially successful, and the king of Mitanni was able to send a **chariot** as gift to **Amenhotep III** from the captured booty. Later actions involved the sack of the capital of Mitanni and campaigns against Nukhashshe, Amurru, and Aleppo. The result was that former allies of Mitanni became vassals of the Hittites and, in some cases, were ruled by Hittite princes.

There is some indication of hostility late in the reign of **Akhenaten** and indications of conflict in the reign of **Tutankhamun**. Hittite captives and **tribute** are shown being presented by the general, **Horemheb**, to the pharaoh in his tomb at **Saqqara**. Following the death of Tutankhamun, the pharaoh’s widow apparently sought a Hittite prince in **diplomatic marriage**. Suppiluliuma at first did not believe the request, but a prince, Zannanza, was eventually sent to Egypt. He was, however, murdered *en route*. This led to the renewal of hostilities, which came to a head in the succeeding reigns of **Sety I** and **Ramesses II** and the Hittite kings **Muwatalli** and Mursili II.

SUPPLIES. Large amounts of foodstuffs and equipment were needed for the **army**, either when it was on campaign or stationed in a frontier **fortress**. Textual and pictorial evidence shows that when the army went on campaign, it was accompanied by millers, bakers, and brewers, who were responsible for the staple rations of bread and beer. There were also butchers. Cattle to accompany the army are shown in the tomb of **Tjanuni**. Supplies taken with the army would have been supplemented by forage and by the seizure of harvests from conquered territories. Spares for **chariots** (poles and wheels), fodder for **horses**, and materials and personnel for the repair and manufacture of **weapons** all accompanied the expedition. Within

the fortress, these personnel would have been accommodated alongside the **garrison**. At the Second **Cataract**, the island fortress of **Askut** seems to have served as a main grain reserve storage for a number of the forts, whereas the large forts of **Buhen** and **Mirgissa** were equipped as supply depots and might have included the support services.

SWORD. The Egyptian sword (called *mesu* and *neken*) was basically a larger version (over 40 centimeters) of the dagger, used for stabbing and thrusting in close combat. Swords were made of copper alloy (bronze) and only much later of **iron**. The cutting or slashing sword was a later introduction. The Egyptian type of the slashing sword was the sickle-shaped **khepesh** appearing in the New Kingdom.

SYRIA. A loose term for the region of western Asia largely coincident with the modern states of Syria and Lebanon. There are numerous names for different regions and states, including **Amurru**, Nukhashshe, **Niy**, **Dhjahy**, Takhsy, **Tunip**, **Dapur**, Hamath, Aleppo, Damascus. Syria embraced different regions of forested mountains along the coast, high steppe, the Orontes Valley, and **desert** to the east. The trading cities of Tyre, Byblos, Beirut, Ugarit, and Sumur along the coast, are known under the name Phoenicia and some had contacts with Egypt from the Early Dynastic Period. The Egyptians gained control over much of Syria in the New Kingdom, through the campaigns of **Amenhotep I**, **Thutmose I**, **Thutmose III**, and **Amenhotep II**, but their influence and control of the northern parts was contested by the kingdoms of **Mitanni** and the **Hittites**. In the later periods, Egypt's attempts to regain influence in Syria were opposed by **Assyria** and **Babylon**. Major battles for control of Syria were fought at **Qadesh**, **Qarqar**, and **Carchemish**. Syria later came under the rule of Persia, from whom it was taken by **Alexander the Great**. Following his death, much of Syria became part of the empire of the **Seleukids**, although **Coele Syria** was mainly ruled by the Ptolemies and was the focus of disputes in the **Syrian Wars**.

SYRIAN WARS (PTOLEMAIC). There was regular conflict between the Ptolemies and the **Seleukids** for control of **Coele Syria**, which had been seized by **Ptolemy I**.

First Syrian War (274–271 BC). Started by **Ptolemy II**. In response, Antiochos I mobilized to invade Egypt. Ptolemy ensured the defenses of the eastern **Delta**, but circumstances caused Antiochos to abandon his plans. A **peace treaty** retained the *status quo*.

Second Syrian War (260–253 BC). Against Antiochos II. In 259/258 BC, Antiochos gained control of Miletos and Samos, and later, following the defeat of the Ptolemaic **navy** at sea, Ephesos. A second naval defeat at the battle of **Kos** (255 BC) ended Ptolemaic control of the Island League.

Ptolemy II led his army into **Syria** in 257 BC, but the progress of the campaign is unknown. Peace was concluded in 253 BC and sealed by **diplomatic marriage**. Ptolemy II yielded no territory in Syria, although Antiochos made substantial gains in Anatolia.

Third Syrian War (246–241 BC). Also known as the *Laodicean War*, this began as a Seleukid **dynastic war**. On the (suspicious) death of Antiochos II, his former wife, Laodike, proclaimed her son, Seleukos II, king. In response, Antiochos's second wife, the Ptolemaic princess, Berenike, proclaimed her own young son, and sought the help of her brother **Ptolemy III** who had just ascended the Egyptian throne. Ptolemy sailed to Syria, where Berenike controlled the heart of the kingdom, the cities of Seleukeia in Pieria, at the mouth of the Orontes, and Antioch. Arriving in Antioch, Ptolemy found that Berenike and her sons had been murdered. Instead of returning to Egypt, Ptolemy III marched through Syria to the Euphrates. The king's records of the war (the Adulis inscription and a papyrus from Gurob) claim he conquered Baktria. Ptolemy was forced to return in 245 BC, because of a **rebellion** by the native Egyptians.

Seleukos II moved to regain the lost territory, was soon recognized in **Babylon**, and then throughout the kingdom. A late source says that Seleukos attempted to invade Egypt, but this is unsubstantiated. Ptolemy III and his army were active in Asia, but there were also conflicts in the Aegean. Ptolemy's half-brother, Ptolemaios Andromachos, lost the naval battle of **Andros** against Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedon, (perhaps in 246 BC), but in the same year, Ephesos was recaptured and remained a Ptolemaic possession until 197 BC. At the end of the war, Ptolemy III could claim that some territory had been gained or reclaimed. One of Ptolemy's most important gains was the vital port of Seleukeia in Pieria, close to his new territories in Cilicia and Pamphylia and the old ones of **Cyprus** and Coele Syria. This effectively gave Egypt control of much of the Mediterranean coast from the western border of **Cyrenaica** to Thrace.

Fourth Syrian War (219–217 BC). The ambitious young Seleukid king, Antiochos III (reigned 223/222–187 BC), planned to restore the empire of Seleukos I and pursue old claims to Coele Syria. The prologue to the war began in 221 BC, when, despite threats to his rule in Anatolia and in the east of his empire, Antiochos took advantage of the problems attending the accession of **Ptolemy IV** to move on the province. In the Beqa Valley, Ptolemaic forces under the commander-in-chief of Coele Syria, Theodotos, held Gerrha and Brochoi and prepared for attack by erecting a blockade with rampart and ditches. Antiochos suffered great losses but failed to advance. He withdrew with news of defeats in the east of his empire, granting Ptolemaic forces a reprieve.

In 219 BC, hostilities were opened when Antiochos III reasserted Seleukid control over Seleukeia in Pieria, captured 27 years before by Ptolemy III. Theodotos, who had fallen from favor through intrigues at the

Alexandrian court, now offered to give Coele Syria to Antiochos. The Seleukid army marched south, taking Tyre and Ptolemais (Ake) and seizing 40 vessels of the Ptolemaic fleet. Antiochos's advance was slowed by local resistance, forcing him to lay **siege** to a number of towns. Antiochos failed to capture Dora and Sidon, and a truce was agreed by both sides for the winter 219/218 BC. The four-month break in the war allowed preparations for an Egyptian response. Most significantly, this involved the formation of a force of 20,000 native Egyptian soldiers, trained as a Macedonian **phalanx**. At the end of the truce in 218 BC, Antiochos III returned to the offensive, but Ptolemy IV held back until his preparations were complete. The army's progress along the coast was shadowed by the fleet. A Seleukid victory by sea and land at the **Porphyriion** pass near Beirut enabled Antiochos to march on Philadelphia (Rabbat Ammon, modern Amman) and from there to Ptolemais (Ake), where they wintered (218/217 BC).

Antiochos continued his **march** along the coast toward Egypt, but Ptolemy IV was now prepared. On 22 June 217 BC, the two armies clashed at **Raphia**. The Ptolemaic victory forced Antiochos to retreat. With the possibility of increased dynastic problems in Anatolia, Antiochos sought a swift resolution. Ptolemy IV apparently conceded Seleukeia in Pieria, which was expensive to hold, but added further pressure by a raid in Syria in late summer 217 BC. Following Raphia, Antiochos III evacuated Coele Syria and Lebanon but reasserted his authority over the east of his empire and over Anatolia.

Fifth Syrian War (202–194/3 BC). Shortly after the accession of **Ptolemy V** as a minor, Antiochos III of Syria and Philip V of Macedon moved to divide the Ptolemaic Empire between themselves. Philip V was to take **Cyrene**, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor, and the Cyclades; Antiochos was to have Egypt and Coele Syria. In 202 BC, Antiochos III began the march south. Capturing Damascus and much of Palestine in 201, he advanced on **Gaza**. The Ptolemaic commander-in-chief of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, Ptolemaios son of Thraseas, went over to the Seleukid side. Antiochos established garrisons and retired for the winter of 201/200 BC, but the Ptolemaic army, with new recruits from Greece, under the command of Skopas, an Aetolian, reoccupied much of Coele Syria during the winter of 200 BC.

On the Macedonian front, Philip V took Samos in 201 BC, followed by the capture of Ptolemaic possessions in Thrace. In 200 BC, **Rome** moved to support Ptolemy to prevent the formation of a large anti-Roman state and to prevent the alliance between Macedon and Syria. Rome attacked Philip in 200 BC, but Antiochos was still free to attack Egyptian territory. The two armies came to confront each other in the summer of 200 BC. Skopas apparently marched north from Gaza to Jerusalem, Samaria, and through Galilee. Advancing farther north toward Damascus, the Ptolemaic force encountered the Seleukid army on the slopes of Mount Hermon, at **Panion**.

An account of the battle is given by Polybius (16:18–19). The Ptolemaic force was defeated. Skopas and 10,000 survivors took refuge in the Ptolemaic stronghold of Sidon, hoping to be evacuated by sea. The Egyptian navy was delayed, Sidon besieged, and Skopas and the army were forced to surrender, after which they were allowed to leave (200/199 BC).

Antiochos gained control of south Syria (198 BC) before turning to Asia Minor, where he captured Ptolemaic possessions in Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria (Kaunos, Myndos, and Halikarnassos), and Ionia (Ephesos) in 197 BC. Direct Roman intervention in Macedon (the Second Macedonian War) culminated with the defeat of Philip V at the battle of Kynoskephalai (197 BC). The Syrian War ended with the Peace of Lysimacheia (late 196 or early 195 BC), at which Rome represented Ptolemaic Egypt. Antiochos III, however, delivered a diplomatic coup, announcing agreements with Ptolemy V and the forthcoming marriage between Ptolemy and his daughter, Kleopatra I. This took place at Raphia. The princess received Coele Syria as her dowry, but Antiochos III actually retained control of the territory. The Fifth Syrian War ended with Egypt's loss of Coele Syria and the coastal bases in Anatolia. As a result, the importance of the remaining Ptolemaic possession, Cyprus, increased enormously.

SYRIAN WAR (SIXTH, 170/169–168 BC). Conflict between **Ptolemy VI** and his uncle **Antiochos IV** over ownership of Coele Syria. The regents for Ptolemy VI entered into the war to regain Coele Syria without the appropriate preparations. Both Ptolemaic and Seleukid envoys were sent to **Rome** where the senate attempted to be conciliatory without taking sides because it was preparing for war with Macedon. It was Antiochos IV of Syria who moved first, marching past Gaza and defeating the Ptolemaic army between Mount Kasios and **Pelusion**, which was besieged. Antiochos IV quickly took control of large parts of Lower Egypt. Ptolemy VI went to see Antiochos in person in his camp, but the Alexandrians immediately hailed his brother, **Ptolemy VIII**, as sole king. In response, Antiochos besieged **Alexandria**, and the government sent an embassy to Rome seeking help (summer 169 BC). The annual inundation made the attack on Alexandria even more difficult, and Antiochos left Egypt in the autumn of 169 BC to deal with matters in Syria or Palestine.

Ptolemy VI now returned to Alexandria, where he was associated with his brother and sister as joint ruler. In response, Antiochos IV marched back to Egypt in spring 168 BC, gaining **Memphis** and much of Lower Egypt. An expedition sent to Cyprus successfully captured it for the Seleukids. Antiochos was acting as king of Egypt and he might have been crowned at Memphis. In June 168 BC, he marched on Alexandria. Victorious in the Macedonian War, the Romans now intervened, sending Caius Popilius Laenas to Egypt. In July 168 BC, Antiochos was forced to leave Egypt, sailing from Pelusion, and Cyprus was returned to Egyptian rule. Rome's

intervention had saved Egypt as an independent kingdom, but the royal family increasingly relied on Roman support in their dynastic disputes.

SYRIAN WAR (103–101 BC). Partly territorial, but principally a **dynastic war**, of **Kleopatra III** and **Ptolemy X Alexander I** against **Ptolemy IX Soter II**. The conflict also involved the rival **Seleukid** kings, Antiochos Cyzicenus and Antiochos Grypus (both of whom had married daughters of Kleopatra III), and the Jewish high priest and king, Alexander Iannaios. Documents from **Pathyris** reveal that troops from Upper Egypt were being mobilized by June 103 BC.

The war began when Iannaios moved to conquer Ptolemais (Ake) in the late winter of 103 BC. Its inhabitants appealed to Soter II who arrived from **Cyprus** with an army of 30,000, but the city refused to admit him. Iannaios proposed to Kleopatra III that they launch a joint attack on Soter II. Soter II now divided his army, part of it laying **siege** to Ptolemais, which was captured. Soter marched with the remainder of the army into Judea to punish Iannaios, defeating him at the **battle** of Asophon near the River Jordan. He sought the aid of one of the two feuding Seleukid kings, Antiochos Cyzicenus, whom he had supported in the past. Kleopatra took moves to neutralize the rival Seleukid, Antiochos Grypos, sending her daughter Kleopatra Selene to be his wife.

Kleopatra III and the army, under the command of the Jewish generals Chelkias and Ananias, set out for Palestine by land. Alexander I, commanding the fleet, left a little later. Kleopatra and Ananias led their forces to Ptolemais, which they besieged, while Chelkias went in pursuit of Soter II, on which mission Chelkias was killed. Iannaios came to an agreement with Kleopatra, which had the added advantage for her of creating problems in the future for Cyzicenus. With both his mother and brother in Palestine, Egypt lay open to Soter II, who now struck for **Pelusion**. Alexander I, who was leading a force to Damascus, turned back in order to repulse his brother's advance, in which he was successful.

Soter's ambitions thus came to an end, and he returned to Cyprus. Wary of Rome's reaction, Kleopatra dropped her ambition of regaining Coele Syria or of making Judaea a province. She installed a **garrison** in Ptolemais and returned to Egypt sometime in 102 BC, leaving Iannaios to expand his power further.

TACTICS. The evidence for the tactics employed in Egyptian **battles** is very limited for the pharaonic period. There are accounts of the battles fought by **Thutmose III** at **Megiddo**, and **Ramesses II** at **Qadesh**, which give some idea of the events leading up to and during the battle. Both battles have been reconstructed on the evidence, and even though the sources are recognized as highly prejudiced royal apologia, they do appear to have some basis in the historical moment. One tactical move at Thutmose III's **siege** of Qadesh is described in the autobiographical text of **Amenemhab**: the prince of Qadesh sent a mare into the Egyptian chariotry to cause chaos among the stallions.

The Victory Stela of **Piye** also gives some idea of military operations, again with an emphasis on the wisdom of the king (and doubtless owing something to the earlier accounts as a literary creation). There is more evidence from the Ptolemaic period for the battles of **Raphia**, **Panion**, and **Aktion**. There is considerable evidence for Roman tactics, even if not related directly to events in Egypt. The formalized nature of Egyptian **battle scenes** allows only the broadest comments to be made on the use and disposition of **chariots**, **infantry**, and the pursuit of siege and storming of **fortresses**. The conflation of numerous different events spread over time, into one image, further complicates interpretation.

TAHARQO (reigned 690–664 BC). Pharaoh of the Kushite 25th Dynasty. His name is often spelled *Taharka*. Taharqo supported the machinations of the western Asiatic rulers against the ambitions of **Assyria**, which eventually led to direct conflict. **Esarhaddon** marched his armies toward Egypt in 679 BC. He captured the **Brook-of-Egypt** and took the ruler to Nineveh, where he was publicly humiliated. Taharqo might have responded with an action in southern Palestine as Esarhaddon returned to attack Sidon in 677 BC. An uncertain entry in the annalistic text known as the *Babylonian Chronicle* indicates that Esarhaddon's army was defeated in **battle** in Egypt in 674 BC, probably in the region of the border at **Tjaru**. A major assault on Egypt was launched in 671. The Assyrians marched past **Gaza**, engaging Taharqo's army at **Ishkhupri**. Three battles were fought as the Assyrians pushed toward **Memphis**. There was battle outside the city, which was then stormed. Resistance from the people and troops within Memphis resulted in great carnage. Taharqo fled south, but many people, including members of his family, were deported to Assyria.

The **Libyan** dynasts of the Delta initially accepted Assyrian rule but soon sent messages to Taharqo, who regained Memphis. In 669 BC, Esarhaddon and his army set out for Egypt again, but the king died in

Palestine granting Egypt a respite.

Esarhaddon's successor, **Ashurbanipal**, marched on Egypt in 667 BC. He marshaled the princes of **Syria** and Palestine to accompany him. The Egyptian army was defeated at Kar-baniti (an Assyrian name for an unidentified place), and the Assyrian ruler captured Memphis. Perhaps wounded in battle, Taharqo again fled south: the Assyrians now followed but had to return when the Libyan dynasts rebelled. The Assyrians attacked **Sau**, and other Delta towns, laying the inhabitants. The dynasts were taken to Assyria, where many were executed.

Taharqo's position in Egypt was made difficult by the self-interest of the Libyan dynasts of the Delta, who constantly changed their allegiance. The principal anti-Kushite and pro-Assyrian ruler was **Nekau I** of **Sau**, although even he joined with other dynasts in the **rebellion** against Ashurbanipal. The details of the conflict between Taharqo and the Assyrians are documented in official Assyrian inscriptions, including a rock-cut stela at the **Nahr el-Kelb** and records of **omens** responding to requests to the sun god Shamash. Although it is generally thought that the Assyrian fighting machine was better equipped and trained than that of Egypt, Taharqo showed remarkable ability in assembling new forces and some success in open battle. The internal political intrigues of the rulers of the Delta and western Asia played a significant role in the successes and failures of both sides.

TANWETAMANI (reigned 664–656 BC). Last pharaoh of the Kushite 25th dynasty. His name can be rendered as *Tanutamun* or *Tantamani*. After the death of **Taharqo** and his accession, Tanwetamani led his army to Egypt. The coalition of **Delta** rulers fled to their hometowns and Tanwetamani regained control of **Memphis**. He supposedly defeated **Nekau I** of **Sau** in battle. **Ashurbanipal** mustered his army, and in 663 BC marched to Egypt, accompanied by Nekau's son, **Psamtik I**, who hoped to be installed in his father's place. Ashurbanipal appears to have received little opposition, and he pursued Tanwetamani from Memphis to **Thebes**, which was sacked. Ashurbanipal withdrew, but the Thebans still acknowledged Tanwetamani as pharaoh. In the north, Psamtik I ascended the throne in **Sau**, and Egypt was divided between the two powers. Ashurbanipal now faced problems in other parts of the Assyrian Empire, and Psamtik began to consolidate his position. His successes ended with a Kushite withdrawal from Upper Egypt, achieved through diplomatic means in the year 9 of both pharaohs.

TANWETAMANI, DREAM STELA OF. Stela found in the temple of **Amun** at Gebel Barkal (Sudan) in 1862 and now in the Nubia Museum, Aswan (Cairo JE 48863). The 42 lines of text describe the king's accession and his conflict with, and victory over, the **Libyan** dynasts of the **Delta**.

TAO (reigned c. 1555 BC). Ruler of **Thebes** in the 17th Dynasty, with the throne name *Sequenre* (by which he is called in some books). He led his army against the **Hyksos**, and a literary work names his opponent as **Apepy**. There are no details of his military actions, although his body has wounds caused by **axes** and **spears**. It was assumed that he was killed in **battle**, but re-examination of the body suggests that he might have survived a first violent attack, but died later, perhaps also through violence. There is no certain record of military actions in **Nubia**, although these might be expected as a defense of the Theban rear before campaigns in the north. The wars against the Hyksos were continued by his son **Kamose**.

TEFNAKHT (reigned c. 727–721 BC). Ruler of **Sau** in the western **Delta**. He began to expand his power, firstly gaining acceptance in **Memphis**, then advancing on the towns of Middle Egypt that were allied to the Kushite king **Piye**, who controlled **Thebes** and Upper Egypt. Peftjauawybast, the ruler of **Herakleopolis**, was besieged and **Nimlot**, king of **Khmunu**, went over to Tefnakht's side. In the ensuing conflict with the army of Piye, there were **battles** near Khmunu and throughout Middle Egypt. With the fall of Memphis and the capitulation of the rulers to the Kushite king, Tefnakht fled to Sau. He did not go to Hut-hery-ib (Athribis) to pay homage but swore an oath of fealty in the principal temple in Sau. This was in the presence of Piye's general and a chief priest. A **peace treaty** was probably also concluded. *See also* KUSH.

TEFNUT. The “Eye of **Re**.” The sun god Re-Harakhty sent forth his burning eye, in the form of his daughter **Hathor**, to destroy mankind. This violent aspect of Hathor assumed the form of a lioness. The 18th Dynasty **Queens** Tiye and Nefertiti were identified with Tefnut as vanquishers of Egypt's female enemies and were therefore depicted as a female **sphinx**. The violent lioness was also given the name **Sakhmet**, “the powerful one.”

TENT. There is remarkably little evidence surviving, and no known examples are preserved (or recognized). The tent must have been used regularly as temporary accommodation for the pharaoh and officials in routine progress around Egypt (attested in a text of **Akhenaten**), as well as on military campaign. There are scenes of military tents in the tomb of **Horemheb** (later pharaoh) at **Saqqara** and in the pictorial representations of the Egyptian **camp** at the battle of **Qadesh**. The royal tent was a grand affair with wooden poles and fully equipped with folding beds, headrests, tables, and stools. **Thutmose III** captured the tent of the prince of **Megiddo**, which had seven poles of *mery*-wood, decorated with silver.

TERESH (TURSHA). Asiatic ethnic group. They are listed among the **Sea Peoples** and were allies of the **Libyans** in the Karnak inscriptions of **Merneptah**, where more than 700 are accounted slain in the war of year 5.

A text from Deir el-Medina of the reign of **Ramesses III** claims that the Teresh and the **Peleset** jointly attacked Egypt and were defeated. Their place of origin is still debated, but a connection with Tyrsenia (Tyrrhenia) on the southern and western coasts of Italy seems possible. The relatively small numbers involved in the military actions lends support to the idea that this was not a mass migration, but that many of these groups were **mercenaries**.

TEUDJOI. The modern archaeological site of el-Hiba. Teudjoi, meaning “Their walls,” was a **fortress** in northern Middle Egypt, built by the high priest of **Amun** Menkheperre in the 21st Dynasty. Teudjoi marked the northern limit of the territory of **Thebes** and formed a defense against any threat from the princes of **Herakleopolis**. Teudjoi was the residence of a number of generals and princes in the troubled Third Intermediate Period, most notably the crown prince and high priest of Amun, **Osorkon**. It was also known in documents as *Ihu*, “The Camps,” and *Tehnet*, “The Crag,” sometimes more specifically “The Crag of Amun.” The natural defensive features of the site were used to advantage, and some 600 meters of mud brick wall, 12.6 meters thick, still survive to a height of 10 meters.

THEBES. A Greek name for the principal royal residence, burial place, and administrative city in Upper Egypt. Originally called Waset, it first rose to importance under its local rulers during the First Intermediate Period. One of these (Intef I) appears to have rebelled against the pharaohs of **Herakleopolis** and adopted some royal style. Expansion by his successor, Intef II, brought Upper Egypt as far as Tjeny north of Abydos under Theban control. **Civil war** continued, involving the rulers of Middle Egypt, but the Theban pharaoh **Menthuhotep II** eventually crushed opposition and reunited Egypt (the Middle Kingdom). Similarly, in the Second Intermediate Period, Waset had its own rulers, claiming descent from earlier pharaohs and using royal style. However, their realm was constrained by the power of the Kushite kingdom of **Kerma** to the south and the **Hyksos** in the north. Wars launched against both by Seqenenre, **Kamose**, and **Ahmose** eventually reunited Egypt inaugurating the most important phase of the city’s history.

As a royal burial place and ancestral home, Thebes was lavishly endowed with temples to **Amun**, whose importance had overtaken that of the local god, **Monthu**. During the later New Kingdom, **Memphis** and the **Delta** cities were more important—even though Thebes remained the royal burial place and endowments continued to be made to Amun. Thebes was apparently the center of the **rebellion** of **Amenmesse** against **Sety II**. In the 20th Dynasty, the Theban region suffered from incursions of **Libyans**, and during the reign of **Ramesses XI** there was a major civil war involving the **viceroy of Kush**, **Panhesy**.

Under the Libyan pharaohs were periods of Theban rebellion, most notably during the pontificate of the crown prince and high priest of Amun, **Osorkon**. At some point in the mid-eighth century BC, Thebes and Upper Egypt were occupied by the Kushite king **Kashta**. The city was sacked by **Ashurbanipal**, king of **Assyria**, during his conflict with **Tanwetamani**. The importance of Thebes declined during the Late Period because the principal political and population centers were in the north, and Thebes was no longer a royal burial place. The loss of **Nubia** as a territory probably also affected the city's importance. A further blow to Theban prestige was dealt when the Ptolemies established a new administrative center for Upper Egypt at Ptolemais Hermiou, but the city continued to be a focus of rebellions throughout the Ptolemaic period.

The Theban kings **Haronnophris** and **Chaonnophris** led the major rebellion of Upper Egypt in the reign of **Ptolemy V**. Later, the civil and **dynastic war** between **Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II** and **Kleopatra II** saw their armies taking and retaking the city, while another Theban rebel pharaoh, **Harsiesis**, also tried to impose his own rule. In the rebellions, the cities to the south, **Pathyris** and Apollonopolis Megale (Edfu), remained loyal to the Ptolemies. There was further unrest in **Thebes** in 123–122 BC and further dynastic troubles affecting the city between 101 and 88 BC between **Ptolemy IX Soter II** and **Ptolemy X Alexander I**. When Egypt fell to the Romans in 30 BC, **Cornelius Gallus**, the **prefect** appointed by **Augustus**, had to suppress rebellions in the Theban region. By this time, the city had declined to be little more than a collection of villages and a tourist attraction, but the Roman emperors continued to add to the temples of Amun, and a **garrison** was stationed in the town. With the increased problems on the southern **border** because of raids by the **Blemmyes**, a **fortress** was built around the temple of Luxor.

The monuments and discoveries in Thebes have supplied much information on warfare in Egypt. The walls of the temple of Amun at Karnak carry **battle scenes**, notably the wars of **Sety I**. The **Annals of Thutmose III** are inscribed around the principal sanctuary, and the pharaoh's **Poetical Stela** was found nearby. Other reliefs and inscriptions record military activities by Kamose, **Ramesses II**, **Merenptah**, and **Sheshonq I**. The temple of Amun at Luxor also carries reliefs of the wars of Ramesses II. The so-called "mortuary" temples on the west bank also have cycles of reliefs, the best-preserved being in the temples of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum) and **Ramesses III (Medinet Habu)**. Numerous fragments have been excavated from other temples such as that of Mentuhotept II. The hundreds of private tombs include those of important military officials, such as Userhet, **Horemheb**, and **Tjanuni**. Private and royal tombs have been a principal source of well-preserved military equipment, such as weapons and **chariots**, the biggest collection being from the tomb of **Tutankhamun**. Thebes has also been the finding place of

some of the best-preserved **literature** relating to military activities.

Identifying actual military sites in Thebes is difficult because most of the ancient city lies beneath the modern town of Luxor. The Roman fort around the temple of Luxor is well preserved, but no pharaonic **fortifications** have been discovered, although texts refer to city **walls**. Massive defensive brick walls, probably erected by **Nakhtnebef**, surrounded the temples. The “Place-beloved-of-Thoth” might be a small garrison fort in Thebes. It is documented from the 19th Dynasty onward. Its officials have connections with the main Theban temples and are also called *Chiefs of Soldiers*. It perhaps stood near the later cult center of Thoth at Qasr el-Agouz on the west bank of the river some distance south of Medinet Habu. As such, it would have controlled access along the valley from the south. In the later Ptolemaic period, a garrison was stationed at Medinet Habu.

THROWSTICK. A common weapon used in warfare and for fowling. The throwstick appears on the Hunter’s Palette of the late Predynastic Period and in the **battle scenes** in the early Middle Kingdom tombs of Khety and Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan. In the temple of **Hatshepsut** at Deir el-Bahari (**Thebes**) a contingent of soldiers is shown on ceremonial duty, some carrying throwsticks, the others **axes**. A contingent in the tomb of **Tjanuni** is also armed with throw-sticks. There were 21 throwsticks in the tomb of **Tutankhamun**, probably for fowling, rather than war.

THUTMOSE I (reigned c. 1504–1492 BC). Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty. He continued the Egyptian expansion into western Asia and **Nubia**. The reign began with a campaign into Nubia, which is documented by a number of sources. There are rock inscriptions at Tumbos (at the Third **Cataract**), Tangur (south of the Second Cataract), and at **Aswan**, where the **canal of Senusret III** was cleared. The autobiographical inscription of **Ahmosé son of Ebana** refers to the pulling of the royal barge through a **cataract**, although opinion is divided as to which it was. Thutmose launched an offensive against **Kerma**, probably using **Sai** as his base. The evidence from Kerma shows that it was burned about this time, and it has been assumed that this campaign marks the end of the kingdom of **Kush**. Recent excavations have shown that there was extensive rebuilding work and the creation of a new “royal” cemetery, suggesting that, although the Kushite ruler was defeated and the capital sacked, a vassal was installed. The royal record of events states that a Kushite ruler, perhaps the ruler of Kerma himself, was killed in battle and his body hung upside down from the prow of the royal flagship for its ceremonial return to **Thebes**. Inscriptions at **Hagar el-Merwa** attest the presence of the **army** at the point where the **desert** routes regain the Nile near the Fifth Cataract. It is more likely that the army used the desert routes than the river, which is almost unnavigable from the Fourth to Fifth Cataracts. This inscription paralleled that which

Thutmose I set up at the Euphrates and was similarly copied by **Thutmose III**. The inscriptions define the limit of Egypt's frontier across the desert in relation to the powers of the Berber-Shendi Reach of the Nile (perhaps **Miu** and **Irem**). Although Kerma was attacked, the **border** seems to have been established at the Third Cataract and a **fortress** built on the island of **Tumbos**.

The campaign in Asia took the army as far as **Naharin (Mitanni)**. It is probable that Thutmose's army was conveyed by the fleet to Byblos, rather than marching through Palestine and **Canaan**. Inscriptional evidence suggests that the army marched from Byblos to Sumur, across the mountains of Lebanon, into the Orontes Valley. From there, they advanced north through the Syrian steppe to Mitanni. The pharaoh set up his stela at the Euphrates ("the river which goes south in going north"), an act which marked the farthest limit of Egyptian military expansion and which was copied by Thutmose III.

THUTMOSE II (reigned c. 1492–1479 BC). Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty, son of **Thutmose I**. At his accession, a "**rebellion**" broke out in **Kush**. This was led by the sons of the ruler of Kush. The rebellion is recorded in the accession inscription of the pharaoh. Rebellion often occurred at the change of ruler, partly because any **peace treaty** was regarded as valid only for the lifetime of the signatories and because it was always a point of weakness. The report of rebellion was also associated with the pharaoh's role of re-establishing order in the universe and was a symbolic act as well as demonstration of actual power. The campaign is recorded by the inscription of **Ahмосе-пен-Nekhbet**. The reign furnishes the first evidence for **Nubian** princes being taken to Egypt as hostages to be installed later as Egyptian vassals.

THUTMOSE III (reigned c. 1479–1425 BC). Son of **Thutmose II**, Thutmose III ascended the throne as a minor, with **Hatshepsut** as regent and later coruler. There were probably as many as four campaigns into **Nubia** in the coreign with Hatshepsut, Thutmose III leading at least two in person. One expedition, recorded by a stela from and reliefs on the pylon of the temple of Armant, was directed against **Miu**, where a rhinoceros was hunted. Inscriptions on the rocks at Tangur, south of the Second **Cataract**, attest the young pharaoh's presence with the army.

In his sole reign, following the death of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III campaigned in western Asia almost annually. There were a total of 17 expeditions from years 22–42. His predecessors, notably **Amenhotep I** and **Thutmose I**, had established Egyptian influence as far as the Euphrates and **Naharin**, but the intensive military actions of Thutmose III established Egypt as the dominant power. The **battles**, captures of cities, and **tribute** brought large numbers of **horses**, **chariots**, and other military equipment,

as well as human captives, raw materials, and harvests. The Asiatic campaigns are detailed in the **Annals of Thutmose III** carved in the hall surrounding the sanctuary of the temple of **Amun** at Karnak (**Thebes**). These are, for temple records of military action, remarkably factual and are stated to have been epitomized from the **Day Books** of the campaign. Some sections of the inscriptions have been damaged, making interpretation difficult. There are also two lists of cities captured and further texts on the seventh pylon at Karnak. There are, however, no depictions of the campaigns. The **Poetical Stela** attributes the victories to Amun. Autobiographical texts of a number of **soldiers** and officials add a little more detail.

Veterans from earlier Asiatic expeditions, such as **Ahmoose-pen-Nekhet**, ended their careers in this reign, while a new generation, such as **Amenemhab**, began theirs. The army scribe **Tjanuni**, who might have been responsible for some of the later entries in the Day Books, also began his career under Thutmose III. The **viceroy** of **Kush**, **Nehi**, seems to have undertaken some military actions in Nubia during the years of Asiatic expansion. In addition to the “historical” accounts, some events are narrated in popular **literature**. One papyrus story has an account of the capture of **Joppa**, and a fragmentary papyrus in the Egyptian Museum, Turin, probably dating from the 20th Dynasty, is part of another literary work relating to the pharaoh’s Syrian Wars. The passages surviving relate incidents during a battle (perhaps **Megiddo**) in which the pharaoh is protected by three forms of the god **Monthu**: Monthu, lord of Armant, at his right hand; Monthu, lord of Djerty, at his left hand; and Mont, lord of Thebes, in front. The pharaoh also likens himself to Monthu and his enemies’ **horses** to **Seth** and **Baal**.

The first campaign, in years 22–23, culminated in the **Battle of Megiddo**. The army set out from **Tjaru** and marched to **Gaza**, where the feast of the coronation took place (beginning the new regnal year 23). From Gaza, the march along the coastal plain passed Yehem (c. 135 kilometers). A division might have broken off and captured Joppa *en route*. Thutmose heard that the prince of **Qadesh** was at Megiddo, with the princes of **Naharin**, Kharu, and Qode. The pharaoh chose to take the army through the short, but more difficult, Aruna pass. The battle at Megiddo was followed by a lengthy **siege**. Thutmose marched farther north and ordered the building of a **fortress**, before the return to Egypt and festival of victory at Thebes.

The next significant campaign was directed against **Qadesh** itself. On this campaign, the army sailed to, and from, Sumur. At Qadesh, the orchards were cut down and the grain harvested. The inscription of Amenemhab records events in this expedition. The campaign of year 33 marked the ultimate focus of the pharaoh’s plans, the attack on **Mitanni** (Naharin). Again, the expedition sailed to Sumur before marching inland,

carrying their boats with them. There was a battle in Naharin, apparently an Egyptian victory. This was followed by the capture of **Carchemish**, the crossing of the Euphrates, and the setting up of a boundary stela next to that of **Thutmose I**. Naharin paid a **tribute** of 513 slaves and 260 horses. The pharaoh ensured that there were supplies for the harbors. The inscription of Amenemhab says that there were three battles in Naharin.

The 10th campaign of year 35 was provoked by the “**rebellion**” of Naharin. There was a battle. Thutmose carried off as booty two suits of bronze **armor**. The army captured 180 horses and 60 chariots, 13 inlaid corselets, 13 suits of bronze armor, and five bronze **helmets**. The 13th campaign, in year 38, was followed by the tribute of Syria comprising 328 horses, 522 slaves, 9 chariots of silver and gold, 61 painted chariots, bronze spears, shields, **bows**, and other **weapons** of war, adding considerably to the pharaoh’s arsenal. The tribute of **Cyprus** included copper and horses. The 14th campaign, in year 39, was against the **Shasu**: this expedition is also mentioned by Amenemhab. The Syrian **tribute** that followed included 229 horses. The 17th campaign, in year 42, returned to consolidate the pharaoh’s position around Qadesh and Tunip.

These campaigns established Egypt as the rival to Mitanni in Syria. They brought enormous wealth in booty and annual levies (tax and tribute). Thutmose states that he made a gift of three cities of Upper **Retenu** to Amun, whose temple received tax from them. The campaigns through booty and tribute ensured that the king had large supplies of horses and chariots, along with other armor and weapons.

In year 47, Thutmose III returned to Nubia and made a royal progress as far as the Fourth Cataract and the “Holy Mountain” of Gebel Barkal. A stela states that Thutmose was the first pharaoh to visit the “Holy Mountain.” He built a fortress, **Sema-khasut**, nearby which contained a chapel dedicated to Amun. It is thought that this became the later town of **Napata**.

THUTMOSE IV (reigned c. 1400–1390 BC). Pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty, son of **Amenhotep II**. The only military action known for this reign is a **Nubian** campaign of year 8, recorded by an inscription on the island of Konosso, near Philae (**Aswan**). This expedition was probably directed against the gold-mining regions of the Eastern Desert. The pharaoh’s diplomatic contacts with the kingdom of **Mitanni** are referred to in the **Amarna Letters**. These reveal that he made a **diplomatic marriage** with a Mitannian princess, probably sealing a **peace treaty** between the two rulers. Parts of the pharaoh’s **chariot** were recovered from his tomb, with decoration showing a battle with Asiatics. In the scene, Thutmose is shown standing in his chariot with the god **Monthu** behind him, helping him to draw his **bow**.

TJANUNI. Military official buried at **Thebes**. The damaged autobiographical text in his tomb says that he served **Thutmose III**, **Amenhotep II**, and **Thutmose IV**. His many titles and variants include those of Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Scribes, Scribe of the (Great) Army (of the King), Overseer of Scribes of the Army, Scribe of Recruits, Scribe of the Palace Guard, and General. These titles reveal that there was no significant division between the military and the **bureaucracy** in the Egyptian New Kingdom. The paintings in Tjanuni's tomb depict the presentation of **horses** as part of the **tribute** and the enlisting of **neferu**-recruits in the army, with **drill** exercises. Some army **musicians** are depicted: two trumpeters and a Nubian drummer. Among other military groups, with their **standards**, are perhaps **Libyans** with two feathers in their hair, carrying **throwsticks**.

TJARU (TELL EL-HEBWA). **Fortress** on the eastern **border** of Egypt, protecting the **Ways of Horus** and the route across north **Sinai** to **Gaza** and Palestine. Now identified with Tell el-Hebwa, it was formerly suggested to be the nearby Tell Abu Sefa. During the reign of **Horemheb**, the future pharaoh **Sety I** was governor of Tjaru. The defense is depicted in the **battle scenes** of Sety I at Karnak as two forts on either side of a crocodile-infested **canal**.

The surviving archaeological remains are the foundations of the fortress of the reign of **Diocletian** overlaying a much larger construction, probably of the Persian period. Diocletian's fortress is very similar to others of the period in Egypt, notably the well-preserved el **Deir** in **Kharga Oasis**. It is a slightly stretched rectangle with walls of mud brick about four meters thick. The inner length is 160.2 meters on the north and south, but 99.7 meters on the east and 101.2 meters on the west. As at Deir, round towers are at the corners. Towered gates are at the middle of both north and south sides, with semicircular towers between the corner towers (on east and west), and between the gates and corner towers. An inscription in Latin records the Ala 1 Thracum Mauretana, although the **Notitia Dignitatum** names the Ala 1 Aegyptiorum here.

TJEKKER. Asiatic ethnic group. Listed among the **Sea Peoples**. In the late 20th Dynasty, they are closely identified with the port of Dor in Palestine.

TRIBUTE. A term used for the foreign products depicted in temple and tomb scenes, although these can actually belong to a number of different economic categories: **gift exchange** between rulers, taxes on controlled territories, items of trade. In Egyptian ideology, all were depicted as if they were the tribute offered to the pharaoh by subjects, even if the political reality was different. A good example of the ideological relationship between war and tribute is found in the temple of Beit el-Wali in **Nubia**, where a large scene shows **Ramesses II** leading his sons and chariotry against a fleeing Nubian infantry. The Nubian village is shown

schematically with one hut. The balancing half of the wall depicts the Nubian tribute, brought to the pharaoh, who is depicted in full majesty: this includes natural products, such as ivory, ebony, and incense, the products of long-distance trade, wild animals, skins, and products of manufacturing centers such as **shields**, **bows**, and furniture. None of this tribute could have been acquired from the defeated village, but the scene emphasizes the cause (war) and effect (tribute). There are many fine scenes of tribute, and of the New Year gifts to the pharaoh (the products of the royal workshops) in tombs at **Thebes**, notably that of Qenamun. These have some good depictions of weapons and **armor**.

TRIEME. The standard type of Greek warship of the fifth century BC to the fourth century AD. It was notable for its bronze ram at water level on the prow. Triemes were rowed by oarsmen in groups of three. Some scholars suggest that the trieme was developed from an Egyptian or Phoenician type of vessel of the sixth century. Larger warships, with oarsmen in groups of four or more (polyremes, **quinquereme**), were developed from the fourth century onward. The Egyptian term *kebenet* has been understood as indicating triemes of the Greek type.

TUMBOS (19° 42'N 30° 23'E). Island site near Third **Cataract** of the Nile in Upper **Nubia**. There are three rock inscriptions of **Thutmose I** and denuded remains of a massive mud brick enclosure that could be the ruins of a **fortress** built in his reign. The enclosure, some 75 meters by 35 meters is oriented east-west and has mud-brick walls, in places 3.5 meters thick and surviving up to a height of 4 meters. Some parts of the walls are built on rough stone foundations, elsewhere they stand directly on the granite boulders that form part of the island. Tumbos and the Third Cataract seem to have marked the southern limit of Egyptian expansion in the early years of the 18th Dynasty, with the main military stronghold on the island of **Sai**. Thutmose **I** certainly launched a major offensive against **Kerma**, which lay immediately south of the Third Cataract. When Egyptian control was extended over Kerma and the rest of Upper Nubia, Tumbos ceased to have a significant role in the defensive (or offensive) network and there are no indications of prolonged occupation at the site. Later rock inscriptions and activity seem to be connected with exploitation of the granite quarries nearby.

TUNIP. City and state of **Syria**. The exact location is uncertain, but it lay to the west of the Orontes River and northwest of **Qadesh**. It seems to have had some coastal territory, although mostly lay in the Lebanon range and the plain to the east. It figures quite prominently in the later Asiatic campaigns of **Thutmose III**, presumably because of its proximity to Qadesh. It seems to have been a vassal of **Mitanni** at this time. Tunip might have been the ultimate goal of the campaign of Thutmose III's 29th year,

but was not captured until the expedition of year 42. It figures in the **Amarna Letters** when its citizens wrote to the pharaoh (probably **Akhenaten**), apparently requesting that the son of their deceased king be sent as ruler. The letter alludes to the city's capture by "Manakhipirya" (i.e., Menkheperre - Thutmose III) and also complains that, although they have been writing for "twenty years" (i.e., a long time), their requests are never dealt with. Later letters state that the **Hittite** king is only two days march away from the city. Tunip appears in the battle reliefs of **Ramesses II** and **Ramesses III**.

TUTANKHAMUN (reigned c. 1336–1327 BC). Pharaoh of the late 18th Dynasty. Although there is no evidence that Tutankhamun conducted any military campaigns himself, it is likely that there were campaigns in both **Nubia** and Asia during his reign. Reliefs from a dismantled chapel at Karnak (**Thebes**), Gebel Silsila (the Speos of **Horemheb**), and in the tomb of the general (later pharaoh) Horemheb at **Saqqara** show episodes in a military action against the Nubians. Reliefs from the Karnak chapel and the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb show an Asiatic battle and tribute being brought by defeated peoples, including **Hittites**. It is likely that the conduct of these actions was under the control of, and very possibly led in person by, Horemheb. Scenes on a painted chest showing the king in his **chariot** fighting Asiatic and Nubian battles are probably symbolic because they are paralleled by scenes showing him hunting wild animals and as a triumphant **sphinx**.

Tutankhamun's substantially intact tomb in the Valley of the Kings is important as the finding place of the largest number of complete chariots surviving from ancient Egypt. There was a considerable amount of other military paraphernalia and **weapons**, including 14 self- and at least 29 (perhaps 32) composite **bows**, more than 400 **arrows** and arrowheads, eight **shields** (four with openwork designs are probably ceremonial), **daggers** (one with an **iron** blade), two *khepesh*-swords, a leather cuirass, **swords**, two fragmentary plaited linencord **slings**, 13 clubs of varying shapes, **throwsticks** and boomerangs (some of these were ceremonial, others for use in fowling rather than warfare). Most of these items included full-size examples and some that were clearly made for the pharaoh as a boy.

UNAS (reigned c. 2375–2345 BC). Last pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty, buried at **Saqqara**, near **Memphis**. A fragment of relief from the causeway of his temple shows a **battle**, with bearded enemies, either Asiatics or **Libyans**, being shot by **archers** using self-**bows**, or engaged in hand-to-hand combat. Another fragment of relief shows starving Libyans, and a period of famine appears to have forced nomadic peoples on Egypt's border into the country, possibly resulting in conflict.

URONARTI. Island **fortress** in the Second **Cataract**, within signaling distance of **Semna** and **Shalfak**. Perhaps begun in the reign of **Senusret I**, it was completed by the reign of **Senusret III**. Like most island forts, its overall plan was dictated by the topography, but with an internal grid plan. In this case, the result was a roughly triangular fort with spur walls. The spur wall on the north ran for 230 meters, with bastions on its northern side. The north side of the island was flatter than elsewhere and the point from which attack was most likely. There was a second spur wall on the south side of the fort. The main gate, with towered gatehouse, was in the west wall. A gate in the east wall led to a stairway and the water gate. The accommodation at Uronarti suggests a garrison of between about 112 and 280 men. Its defense needs were between 250–500, or between 375–750, if the spur walls are taken into account.

USERKAF (reigned c. 2494–2487 BC). First pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty buried at **Saqqara**, near **Memphis**. Fragments of the relief decoration from his pyramid temple survive. One of these shows running troops who originally accompanied a ship. Some are dressed in kilts, the others in an apron with three hanging pieces of cloth. There is no explicit evidence for military activities.

VICEROY OF KUSH. The Egyptian title was “King’s Son of **Kush**.” The first viceroy was appointed by **Kamose** and the office continued until the end of the 20th Dynasty. Egyptologists once assumed that the office ceased with the problems in Upper Egypt and **Nubia** in the reign of **Ramesses XI**, but there is now evidence from excavations at **Abu** (Elephantine) for its continuance. These officials of the Third Intermediate Period combined the duties of viceroy with other religious and civil positions associated with **Aswan**. It is likely that the title then signified some control over the region immediately to the south, perhaps the origin of the **Dodekaschoinos**, but certainly an area far smaller than that controlled by their New Kingdom predecessors.

The earliest viceroys were military officers, one of the first being the commander of **Buhen**. Later their administrative functions were emphasized, the military commander being the Overseer of Bowmen of Kush. Viceroys did command military expeditions, and these are attested for Nehi in the reign of **Thutmose III** and Dhutmose under **Akhenaten** (against **Ikayta**). Setau led an army against **Irem** in the reign of **Ramesses II** and also captured **Libyans** in one of the oases of Lower Nubia.

Another title used by Viceroys, Overseer of Southern Foreign Lands, was once considered to be nothing more than a poetic variant. The title was used by a number of officials and actually appears to have designated a specific group comprising the Viceroy, the Overseer of Bowmen, and some local rulers who were responsible for the frontier region between the Third and Fourth **Cataracts**.

WADIEL HUDI. A site of amethyst quarries in the Eastern **Desert** near **Aswan** with a fortress of Roman date.

WADI TUMILAT. The Wadi Tumilat runs from near the apex of the **Delta** toward the Red Sea. Ramesside documents show that **Shasu** beduin came along it in the dry seasons with their herds and flocks. Its importance increased with the construction of a **canal** by Nekau II, completed or enlarged by Darius I, renewed by Ptolemy II, and extended by Trajan. The canal was 45 meters wide, 5 meters deep, and was navigable for 84 kilometers from Per-Bastet to the Red Sea. The town of Per-Atum (Pithom), known as *Heroönpolis* in the Ptolemaic period (the modern site of Tell **el-Maskhuta**), was a major entrepot from the time of Nekau II through the Roman period.

WAHIBRE (APRIES) (reigned 589–570 BC). Pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty. In 588/587 BC, Wahibre attacked the towns of Tyre and Sidon, which had become subject to the expanding Neo-Babylonian Empire, while its emperor, **Nebuchadnezzar II**, was besieging **Jerusalem**. Following the fall of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar invested Tyre, and many **Jews** took refuge in Egypt (notably at **Aswan**). Wahibre was dethroned by **Ahmose II** in a **rebellion** of the **army** following a failed campaign in **Libya** (probably directed against **Cyrene**). Despite this, Wahibre still had support throughout Egypt and in 570/569 BC attempted to regain his throne with the assistance of ships from **Cyprus** and troops from Caria and Ionia. Wahibre was defeated in battle and fled to western Asia. However, he still seems to have had support in Egypt and persuaded Nebuchadnezzar to invade Egypt in a second attempt to reinstate him, in 568/567 BC. Wahibre was killed, perhaps in battle, and buried by Ahmose II in the royal necropolis at **Sau**.

WALL. Defensive walls, other than those around **fortresses** and settlements, were built at a number of places in Egypt and Nubia. Some are known only from texts, but fragments of others survive. There was a wall between the fortresses of **Semna** and **Uronarti** at the Second **Cataract**; a wall between the town of **Aswan** and the port area at the head of the First Cataract, perhaps delimiting the whole region as **Senmut**. A similar wall is reported between the Nile Valley and the **Fayum** running from Riqqa to Philadelphia. The **Walls of the Ruler** are known from the story of **Sinuhe**: they formed part of the eastern defenses of Egypt and, as such, probably related to others in the region that date back to the time of **Sneferu**. The **Palermo Stone** records the “building of walls of the Southland and of the

Northland called the Houses of Sneferu.” Such **fortifications** might have combined long walls with dry ditches, **canals**, **watchtowers**, and larger **garrison** fortresses.

Walls were built of unburned mud brick, strengthened with layers of timber and matting. They could have towers and bastions on the external faces. Enclosure walls of towns, such as **Nekheb**, or temples, were generally without additional external features and were built in interlocking sections of undulating brickwork. This technique (usually called *pan-bedding*) gave strength to the wall when it was situated in the flood plain, preventing it from breaking when the water table expanded.

WALLS OF THE RULER. These are referred to in the tale of **Sinuhe** as a defense “to repel the Asiatics and to crush the Sand-farers.” They could be a later development of the “walls of the Southland and of the Northland called the Houses of Sneferu” referred to in the **Palermo Stone**. They might have been replaced by the **fortresses** and defensive network, including a **canal**, which extended from **Tjaru**.

WAR. A prolonged dispute between nations or, in the case of **civil war**, rival sections of the population. **Battle** is one element in wars, but breaks in diplomatic and trading contacts are also important factors. Although the term “war” is often used in Egyptological literature (as in the “**Libyan Wars**” of Sety I and Merenptah), it might not be strictly applicable in many cases of Egyptian hostilities before the Ptolemaic period. In most instances, Egyptian campaigns involved sieges, battle, and lesser skirmishes, but were not necessarily prolonged and with the diplomatic breaks that characterize later wars. The **Syrian Wars** of the Ptolemaic period were prolonged military actions with many individual battles, as were the wars of the **diadochoi**.

WAR CRY. Descriptions of **battle** being relatively rare, there is little firm evidence for aspects that are known from other societies, such as the war cry. However, a few texts show that this was a part of battle. **Sinuhe** gave a great war cry after he had defeated the champion of **Retenu**. Texts of **Ramesses III**’s military actions describe his war cry: he bellowed and roared like a **griffon**.

WATCHTOWER. The best evidence for watchtowers is from the Roman period, although they probably existed earlier. Those preserved in the Eastern **Desert** are usually built of stone, measuring some 3 or 3.5 meters square, and the same high. Access was by ladder, and the towers were in sight of each other. At **Aswan**, three watchtowers stood between the town and the **fortress** at the head of the **cataract**, and formed part of a network extending from Dendur in Lower **Nubia** to Edfu. There is evidence for a system of towers at the apex of the **Delta**, from Abu Rawash probably to

Babylon.

WAWAT. Originally the name of a chiefdom of Lower **Nubia**, acquiring more generalized meaning. It is first encountered in texts of the late Old Kingdom. Wawat was the most northerly of three chiefdoms between the First and Second **Cataracts**. The texts of **Harkhuf** show that Wawat had expanded conquering Irtjet and Satju. From then on, *Wawat* was the name given to the whole region between the First and Second Cataracts. It was the name given to the administrative province during the New Kingdom, when the **viceroy** maintained his headquarters at **Aniba** or **Faras**.

There was little disturbance in the region during the New Kingdom, apart from incursions of **Libyans** into the oases in the reign of **Ramesses II**, and an attempted **rebellion** in the reign of **Merneptah**. This was supposed to have taken place at the same time as the **Libyan War** but apparently failed. Many archaeologists think that Wawat was without settled population during the whole period from the end of the New Kingdom to the Meroitic period. This, however, seems unlikely, and there is evidence from different periods for **garrisons** in the **fortresses**. **Qasr Ibrim** might have been fortified in the troubles of the reign of **Ramesses XI**. Certainly, troops were stationed there and at **Buhen**, **Mirgissa**, and **Semna** in the reign of **Taharqo**. The fortress of **Dorginarti** was probably built in the Persian period.

Although Wawat remains as a rather archaic designation in Ptolemaic texts, the district controlled by the Ptolemies and Romans was known as the **Dodekaschoinos**, or, when enlarged, the Triakontaschoinos. The former had its boundary at **Maharraqa**. There was military action in the region in the reign of **Augustus** when the prefects Cornelius **Gallus** and Caius **Petronius** brought their armies here in the conflict with **Meroe**.

WAYS OF HORUS. The name of the route from Egypt along the coast of north **Sinai**, through **Rhinocolura**, **Raphia**, and **Gaza** to **Canaan** and western Asia. The difficulties of the road served as a natural protection to Egypt, but this was increased with a defensive network of **fortresses**. The evidence comes from **literature** and archaeological remains, which have been understood in relation to the schematic representation of the frontier in the relief sculptures of the wars of **Sety I** on the exterior wall of the Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Karnak (**Thebes**). A major study by Alan Gardiner has been modified by more recent excavation and research, but the identification of some sites with their Egyptian names remains uncertain.

A **canal** is depicted in Sety I's relief, probably connecting the Pelusiac branch of the Nile with the Bitter Lakes. The most important fortresses known from the documentary evidence were the great frontier control points of **Tjaru** (also Tjel, or Sile), **Migdol**, and **Pelusion**. Also close to the

border was **Daphnae**. Tjaru was identified by Gardiner and others with the site of Tell Abu Sefa, but is now suggested to be the nearby site of Tell Hebwa. This whole region has recently become the focus of survey and excavation. At Tell Qedwa, excavations in the fort have proven it to be Saite in origin. It had walls with cellular construction, some external towers, and a moat. The fortress was rebuilt after a massive conflagration. At Tell el-Herr, a fortress of Persian date underlies a later fort. The name of **Ramesses II** has been found in the excavations at Tell Borg, although it is not yet identified as a fortress.

Two roads ran along the coast. One of these went from Pelusion along the narrow stretch of land that separated Lake Serbonis from the sea: it was quick but treacherous. On this route lay Mount Kasios, which has been identified with two possible points. The inland route was certainly that in regular use. It crosses an inhospitable, almost waterless desert, and armies invading Egypt sought the aid of the local **Arabs** in crossing it. From Pelusion to Rhinocolura (**Brook-of-Egypt**, modern el-Arish) is about 120 kilometers, on to Raphia 45 kilometers, and to Gaza another 34 kilometers, totaling around 200 kilometers.

WEAPONS. The Hunter's Palette and similar late Predynastic and Early Dynastic monuments (e.g., the **Narmer Palette**) show the range of early weapons: the self-bow, **spear**, **mace**, **axe**, **dagger**, and **throwstick**. The **sling** was undoubtedly used extensively as well. With few additions, these remained the principal weapons throughout the dynastic period. The composite bow was introduced in the Second Intermediate Period. The dagger was enlarged into the **sword** (perhaps aided by developments in metal technology), and the sickle-shaped **khepesh** introduced. The spear was adapted as a stabbing and throwing (javelin) weapon.

Most weapons were manufactured in the state workshops, whether attached to the temples or palaces, as these were the storehouses of the precious metals and other materials required, most of which were the product of foreign trade (or **tribute**). The value of the materials, as with tools, ensured that the **bureaucracy** kept careful control of weapons. The distribution of weapons to the **army** is depicted in the **scenes of the battle** with the **Sea Peoples** at **Medinet Habu**. Other weapons were the product of the international **arms trade**.

There was relatively little difference in the range of weapons available to Egypt and her enemies, or in the technology. It has been assumed that the development of **iron** working gave an advantage to the armies of **Assyria**, but this is not certain. Assyria does appear to have had far more sophisticated machinery for **siege** warfare. Perhaps its greatest asset, however, was efficiency and training. Assyria was able to mobilize its armies and send them to rebellious distant regions at remarkably high speed.

WEDJAHORRESNE (fl. c. 540–500 BC). Official of the Late Period whose statue, now in the Vatican Museum, carries a long and valuable autobiographical inscription. It was originally set up in the temple in **Sau** in the reign of **Darius I**. Wedjahorresne is often described as a “collaborator” because he served as commander of the **navy** under the pharaohs **Ahmose II**, and **Psamtik III**, and then under the conquering king of Persia, **Cambyes**, ending his career under Darius I.

WESHESH. One of the **Sea Peoples**, an element in the invasion of year 8 of **Ramesses III**.

WOMEN. Women rarely appear in **scenes of battle**, and when they do, it is usually as enemies besieged in towns or as captives in the aftermath of campaign. With the exception of the violent imagery of **queens** in the New Kingdom and at **Meroe**, women are not usually shown fighting. The scene in the tomb of Inti at **Deshasheh** shows women inside the fortress that is being attacked helping the wounded. In Egyptian **literature**, women, as wives and mothers, are left bereft when their male soldier relatives are killed. This view of women in relation to war as generally passive victims doubtless has some truth, but is also influenced by the image of women and their role projected in the Egyptian monumental and literary record, which was essentially a male product. An active role in war is attested for some royal women, notably **Hatshepsut**, members of the Ptolemaic family (**Kleopatra II, III, VII**), and **Amanirenas** of Meroe. Whether elite and nonelite women accompanied military campaigns as wives, workers, or camp-followers is undocumented.

XERXES. Great King of Persia and pharaoh of Egypt (reigned 486–465 BC). According to Herodotos (Book 7), **rebellion** had broken out in Egypt shortly before the death of **Darius I**. This might have been led by **Psamtik IV**, the ruler of the far western Delta (although his rebellion could have been later, c. 470 BC). When Xerxes succeeded his father as king, he prepared the army for an invasion of Egypt. The rebellion was suppressed and Xerxes installed his brother, Achaimenes, as **satrap** (c. 486/485–459 BC). Achaimenes followed harsher policies than his predecessors and was eventually killed in the rebellion of **Inaros**, son of Psamtik, which broke out at Xerxes' death (465 BC).

ZAWIYET UMM EL-RAKHAM. Fortress, 25 kilometers west of Mersa Matruh. Recent excavations have indicated that the fort was considerably larger than the 80 × 100 meters that were cleared by Labib Habachi. It was probably the farthest west of a chain of fortresses built in the reign of **Ramesses II**, extending from **Memphis** along the edge of the **Delta** and the coast at approximately 50 kilometer intervals. Others in the line stood at **Alamein**, **Gharbaniyat**, **Karm Abu-Girg**, and **Rakote** (later **Alexandria**). The fortress appears to have been built to control the movement of **Libyans** along the coast because it stands at a controlling point and had a large well within its walls. The fort stands close to the later town of **Paraitonion**, which marked the westernmost limit of Egypt in the Ptolemaic period.

ZENOBIA (SEPTIMIA) (reigned 267–272 AD). Zenobia (the Aramaic form of the name is *Bath Zabbai*) was the wife of Septimius Odaenathus, who made himself king of Palmyra in circa 250 AD. Odaenathus established himself as protector of the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire against the threat from the Sasanid Empire in Persia and was honored by the Roman emperor, Gallienus (253–268 AD), with the titles *dux* and *corrector totius orientis*. Odaenathus in practice ruled the whole eastern provinces from Egypt to Asia Minor, but always acknowledged the superiority of the Roman emperor. Following the death of Odaenathus, in a family dispute (267 AD), his widow, Zenobia, seized power in the name of their son, Septimius Vaballathus. Her rule was initially tolerated by the emperors Gallienus and Claudius II Gothicus (268–70 AD) as long as she maintained the frontier.

Zenobia moved to establish an independent empire, taking Egypt and much of Asia Minor. Zenobia was invited into Egypt by Timagenes early in the reign of Claudius II (268 AD), bringing an army of 70,000 under the command of Zabdas. Following Roman resistance, the Palmyrenes withdrew, leaving a garrison of 5,000, but these, too, were forced out by the Roman general, Probus. Zabdas and Timagenes returned, but were defeated by Probus, who attempted to cut off their retreat near the fortress of **Babylon**. However, Timagenes had superior local knowledge and the Palmyrenes ultimately gained the victory. Probus committed suicide.

Between 270 and 272 AD, Zenobia and Vaballathus are named as the power holders in Egyptian documents. On the death of Claudius II in 270 AD, Vaballathus was given increasingly exalted titles and declared by Zenobia to be the junior colleague of the new emperor, **Aurelian** (270–75 AD). However, his position in the west consolidated, Aurelian led his armies against Zenobia, who now proclaimed her son *Augustus* and herself

Augusta (272 AD). Aurelian defeated her armies at Antioch and Emesa, then besieged Zenobia within Palmyra, where she was captured. Her life was spared.

In spring 273 AD, Aurelian was back in the east to deal with a further **rebellion** in Palmyra and another, apparently related, in Egypt where the Palmyrenes allied themselves with the **Blemmyes**, confining Roman authority to **Alexandria**. In Upper Egypt, Palmyrene **archers** were stationed at Koptos. Aurelian forced the Palmyrenes and adherents into the Brucheion, a suburb of Alexandria, where they were besieged and eventually forced by hunger to capitulate. Aurelian destroyed the **walls** of Alexandria.

Appendix: Dynastic List

All dates before 690 BC are approximate. Some pharaohs or dynasties were contemporary with each other. Only pharaohs who appear in the dictionary are included.

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD C. 5000–C. 3100 BC

EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD C. 3100–2686 BC

DYNASTY “O” c. 3150–3050 BC

“Scorpion”

FIRST DYNASTY c. 3050–2890 BC

Narmer c. 3100 BC

Aha c. 3080 BC

Djer c. 3050 BC

Djet c. 3000 BC

Den c. 2985 BC

SECOND DYNASTY c. 2890–2686 BC

Hotep-sekhemwy c. 2890 BC

Peribsen c. 2700 BC

Khasekhemwy c. 2600 BC

OLD KINGDOM C. 2686–2181 BC

THIRD DYNASTY c. 2686–2613 BC

Sanakhte c. 2686–2613 BC

Netjer-khet Djoser c. 2667–2648 BC

Sekhemkhet c. 2648–2640 BC

FOURTH DYNASTY c. 2613–2494 BC

Snefru c. 2613–2589 BC

Khufu c. 2589–2566 BC

Djedefre c. 2566–2558 BC

Khafre c. 2558–2532 BC

Menkaure c. 2532–2503 BC

Shepseskaf c. 2503–2498 BC

FIFTH DYNASTY c. 2498–2345 BC

Userkaf c. 2494–2487 BC

Sahure c. 2487–2475 BC

Neferirkare c. 2475–2455 BC

Neferefre c. 2448–2445 BC

Niuserre c. 2445–2421 BC

Djedkare-Isesi c. 2414–2375 BC

Unas c. 2375–2345 BC

SIXTH DYNASTY c. 2345–2181 BC

Teti 2345–2323 BC

Pepi I 2321–2287 BC

Nemtyemsaf 2287–2278 BC

Pepi II 2278–2184 BC

FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD C. 2181–2000 BC

SEVENTH/EIGHTH DYNASTIES c. 2181–2125 BC

NINTH DYNASTY c. 2160–2130 BC

TENTH DYNASTY c. 2130–2040 BC

ELEVENTH DYNASTY c. 2125–1985 BC

Intef I 2125–2112 BC

Intef II 2112–2063 BC

MIDDLE KINGDOM C. 2040–1795 BC

Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II 2055–2004 BC

S'ankh-ka-re Menthuhotep III 2004–1992 BC

Neb-tawy-re Menthuhotep IV 1992–1985 BC

TWELFTH DYNASTY c. 1985–1795 BC

Amenemhat I 1985–1955 BC

Senusret I 1965–1920 BC

Amenemhat II 1922–1878 BC

Senusret II 1880–1874 BC

Senusret III 1874–1855 BC

Amenemhat III 1855–1808 BC

Amenemhat IV 1808–1799 BC

Sebekneferu 1799–1795 BC

THIRTEENTH DYNASTY c. 1782–1650 BC

FIFTEENTH DYNASTY (Hyksos) c. 1650–1550 BC

Apepi c. 1585–1550 BC

Khamudy c. 1550–1535 BC

SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY c. 1580–1550 BC

Tao c. 1560 BC

Kamose c. 1555–1550 BC

NEW KINGDOM C. 1550–1069 BC

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY c. 1550–1295 BC

Ahmose 1550–1525 BC

Amenhotep I 1525–1504 BC

Thutmose I 1504–1492 BC

Thutmose II 1492–1479 BC

Thutmose III 1479–1425 BC (sole reign from 1456)

Hatshepsut 1472–1458 BC

Amenhotep II 1427–1400 BC

Thutmose IV 1400–1390 BC

Amenhotep III 1390–1352 BC

Akhenaten 1352–1336 BC

Tutankhamun 1336–1327 BC

Horemheb 1323–1295 BC

NINETEENTH DYNASTY c. 1295–1186 BC

Sety I 1294–1279 BC

Ramesses II 1279–1213 BC

Merneptah 1213–1203 BC

Amenmesses 1203–1200 BC (or entirely within the reign of Sety II)

Sety II 1200–1194 BC

TWENTIETH DYNASTY c. 1186–1069 BC

Ramesses III 1184–1153 BC

Ramesses IV 1153–1147 BC

Ramesses VI 1143–1136 BC

Ramesses IX 1126–1108 BC

Ramesses XI 1099–1069 BC

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD C. 1069–656 BC

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY c. 1069–945 BC

Osorkon “the elder” 984–978 BC

Siamun 978–959 BC

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY c. 945–715 BC

Sheshonq I 945–924 BC

Osorkon I 924–889 BC

Osorkon II 874–850 BC

Takeloth II 850–825 BC

Osorkon III c. 800–785 BC

TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY c. 750–656 BC

Kashta c. 750–736 BC

Piye (Piankhy) c. 736–712 BC

Shabako c. 711–695 BC

Shebitqo c. 695–690 BC

Taharqo 690–664 BC

Tanwetamani 664–656 BC

LATE PERIOD 664–332 BC

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY 664–525 BC

Psamtik I 664–610 BC

Nekau II 610–595 BC

Psamtik II 595–589 BC

Wahibre (Apries) 589–570 BC

Ahmose II (Amasis) 570–526 BC

Psamtik III 526–525 BC

TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY (PERSIAN KINGS) 525–404 BC

Cambyses 525–521 BC

Darius I 521–485 BC

Pedubast III (rebel Egyptian dynast) c. 500 BC

Xerxes 485–465 BC

Artaxerxes I 465–424/423 BC

Darius II 423–404 BC

TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY 404–399 BC

Amyrtaios 404–400/399 BC

TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY 399–379 BC

Nefaarud I ca 399/398–394/393 BC

Hakor 393/392–381–380 BC

Pshenmut 380/379 BC

Nefaarud II 379 BC

THIRTEENTH DYNASTY 380–341 BC

Nakhtnebef (Nectanebo I) ca 379/378–362/361 BC

Djedhor 361/360–360–359 BC

Nekhthorheb (Nectanebo II) 359/358–342/341 BC

SECOND PERSIAN DYNASTY 343–332 BC

Artaxerxes III 343–338 BC

Khabbash (Egyptian independent pharaoh) c. 338 BC

Darius III 336–332 BC

MACEDONIAN KINGS 332–305 BC

Alexander III the Great 332–323 BC

Philip Arrhidaios 323–317 BC

Alexander IV 323–305 BC

THE PTOLEMIES 305–30 BC

Ptolemy I Soter 305–282 BC

Ptolemy II Philadelphos 285–246 BC

Ptolemy III Euergetes I 246–222 BC

Ptolemy IV Philopator 222–205 BC

Ptolemy V Epiphanes 205–180 BC

Ptolemy VI Philometor 180–145 BC

Kleopatra II 180–116 BC

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II 169–163, 145–116 BC

Kleopatra III 145–101 BC

Ptolemy IX Soter II 116–107 BC

Ptolemy X Alexander I 107–88 BC

Ptolemy IX Soter II (restored) 88–80 BC

Kleopatra Berenike III 80 BC

Ptolemy XI Alexander II 80 BC

Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (“Auletes”) 80–58, 55–51 BC

Kleopatra VI (58–57 BC) and Berenike IV 58–55 BC

Ptolemy XIII 51–47 BC

Kleopatra VII 51–30 BC

Ptolemy XIV 47–44 BC

Ptolemy XV Kaisarion 44–30 BC

ROMAN EMPERORS 30 BC–395 AD

Augustus 30 BC–14 AD

Tiberius 14–37 AD

Caius (Caligula) 37–41 AD

Claudius 41–54 AD

Nero 54–68 AD

Vespasian 69–79 AD

Titus 79–81 AD

Trajan 98–117 AD

Hadrian 117–138 AD

Antoninus Pius 138–161 AD

Marcus Aurelius 161–180 AD

Septimius Severus 193–211 AD

Caracalla 198–217 AD

Macrinus 217–218 AD

Elagabalus 218–222 AD

Philip 244–249 AD

Valerian 253–260 AD

Gallienus 253–268 AD

Claudius II Gothicus 268–270 AD

Aurelian 270–275 AD

Diocletian 286–305 AD

Constantine I 306–337 AD

Julian 361–363 AD

Theodosius I 379–395 AD

BYZANTINE EMPERORS 395–642 AD

Justinian I 527–565 AD

Phocas 602–610 AD

Heraclius 610–642 AD

Select Bibliography

There are three distinct phases of military history covered in this volume: Pharaonic, Hellenistic (Ptolemaic), and Roman, each of which has, for a variety of reasons, received different depths of treatment by scholars. There have been remarkably few general studies of warfare in the pharaonic period, and with the exceptions of the battles of Megiddo and Qadesh, and the wars of Thutmose III and Sety I, literature has generally treated military activities by pharaohs within the overall context of their reigns. Other specifically technical aspects, such as the fortresses and weaponry or textual sources, have all been subjected to more detailed studies. Therefore, many of the works cited here are in academic journals and inevitably include a large number in French and German, and some in Italian.

By the nature of the surviving evidence, warfare in the Hellenistic and Roman periods has been the subject of far more studies than the pharaonic period. For the Ptolemaic army, some more general studies of Greek and Hellenistic warfare have been included, but for the Roman period the bibliography has been restricted to works that deal specifically with Egypt.

In the topographical section, sites are listed as they appear in the dictionary: smaller sites, such as some of the fortresses in Kharga Oasis, will be found in the entry for Kharga rather than separately. This applies especially to sites that are described only in collective articles rather than receiving individual studies.

CONTENTS

General Works on Warfare in Egypt and the Near East

Historical Atlases

History

Egypt: General

Egypt: Specific Periods and Reigns (Relating to Military Actions, Including Texts)

Roman Egypt

Byzantine Egypt

Topographical

- Egypt and the Wider World
 - Imperialism
 - Diplomatic Relations
- Nubia
- Libya and Libyans
- Near East
 - Jews and Jewish Revolts
 - The Sea Peoples
- Greek and Roman World
- Military Equipment and Warfare
 - Weapons and Other Military Equipment
- The Army
 - The Army: Pharaonic
 - The Army: Ptolemaic
 - The Army: Roman
 - Soldiers: Veterans and Cleruchs
 - Soldiers: Roman
- Navy
- Society
 - Art
 - Economy
 - Civilians
 - Ethos
 - Literature
 - Literary Texts
 - Music and Musicians
 - Nationalism

GENERAL WORKS ON WARFARE IN EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST

- Adcock, F. *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.
- Curto, Silvio. *The Military Art of the Ancient Egyptians*. Turin: Edizioni d'arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1971.
- Garlan, Y. *War in the Ancient World: A Social History*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1975.
- Gnirs, Andrea. "Ancient Egypt." In Kurt Raaflaub and Nathan Rosenstein, eds., *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Cambridge, Mass., 1999, 73–107.
- Lloyd, Alan B., ed. *Battle in Antiquity*. London: Duckworth, 1996.

Shaw, Ian. *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*. Princes Risborough: Shire Egyptology 16, 1991.
Yadin, Y. *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*. London. 1963.

HISTORICAL ATLASES

Avi-Yonah, Michael, and Ephraim Stern. *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977–78.
Baines, John, and Jaromir Malek. *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Facts on File, reprinted 2001.
Cornell, Timothy, and John Matthews. *Atlas of the Roman World*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1982.
Manley, Bill. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. London: Penguin, 1996.
Morkot, Robert. *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Greece*. London: Penguin, 1996.
Roaf, Michael. *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East*. New York: Facts on File, 1990.

HISTORY

Egypt: General

Gardiner, Alan H. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
Grimal, Nicolas. *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
Kemp, Barry J. *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge, 1989.
Shaw, Ian, ed. *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Trigger, Bruce G., Barry J. Kemp, David O'Connor, and Alan B. Lloyd. *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Egypt: Specific Periods and Reigns (Relating to Military Actions, Including Texts)

Predynastic and Early Dynastic

Dreyer, Günter. "Egypt's Earliest Historical Event." *Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 16 (2000), 6–7.
Fairservis, W.A. "A Revised View of the Narmer Palette." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 28, 1991, 1–20.
Midant-Reynes, Béatrix. *The Prehistory of Egypt: From the First Egyptians to the First Pharaohs*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.
Millet, Nicholas. "The Narmer Macehead and Related Objects." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27, 1990, 53–9.
Spencer, A. Jeffrey. *Early Egypt. The Rise of Civilisation in the Nile Valley*. London: British Museum Press, 1993.
Wilkinson, Toby A.H. *Early Dynastic Egypt*. London: Routledge, 1999.
Williams, Bruce B. "Security and the Problem of the City in the Naqada Period." In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, Studies in

Old Kingdom

- Andreu, Guillemette. *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Helck, Wolfgang. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* 2nd ed. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 1971.

First Intermediate Period

- Beckerath, Jurgen von. "Die Dynastie der Herakleopoliten." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966), 13–20.
- Brovaski, Edward. "Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period." In W. Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981, 14–30.
- Edel, Elmar. *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herakleopolitenzeit*. Opladen Westdt. Verl., 1984.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. "The Rebellion in the Hare Nome." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 30 (1944), 61–63.
- Fischer, Henry G. "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period." *Kush* 9 (1961), 44–80.
- Franke, Detlef. "Zwischen Herakleopolis und Theben: Neues zu den Gräbern von Assjut." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987), 49–60.
- Goedicke, Hans. "Ankhtyfy's Fights." *Chronique d'Égypte* 72 (1998), 29–41.
- Vandier, Jacques. *Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1950.

Middle Kingdom: Dynasty 11

- Baines, John. "The Stela of Khusebek: Private and Royal Military Narrative and Values." In M. Görg, ed., *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst des alten Ägypten, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*. Wiesbaden, Germany, 1987, 43–61.
- Brovaski, Edward, and William J. Murnane. "Inscriptions from the Time of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II at Abisko." *Serapis* I (1969), 11–33.
- Darnell, John C. "New Inscriptions of the Late First Intermediate Period from the Theban Western Desert and the Beginnings of the Northern Expansion of the Eleventh Dynasty." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56 (1997), 241–58.
- Fisher, Henry G. "Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome." Rome: *Analecta Orientalia* 40, 1964.
- . *Varia Nova*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Studies III, 1966.
- Hayes, W.C. "Career of the Great Steward Henenu under Nebhepetre Mentuhotep." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949), 43–49.
- Peet, T. Eric. *The Stela of Sebek-khu, the Earliest Record of an Egyptian Campaign in Asia*. Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1914.
- Posener, Georges. "À propos des graffiti d'Abisko" *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952), 163–6.
- Schulman, Alan R. "The Battle Scenes of the Middle Kingdom." *Journal of the Society for*

the Study of Egyptian Antiquities 12 (1982), 165–83.

Winlock, Herbert E. *The Slain Soldiers of Neb-Hepet-Re Mentu-Hotpe*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945.

Middle Kingdom: Dynasty 12

Altenmüller, H. and A.M. Moussa. “Die Inschrift Amenemhets’ II, in Memphis.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 18 (1991), 1–48.

Berlev, Oleg. “Les prétendus ‘citadins’ au Moyen Empire.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 23 (1971), 23–48.

Delia, Robert D. *A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III*. U.M.I. Dissertation Information Service. University Microfilms International. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 1989.

Goedicke, Hans. “Egyptian Military Actions in Asia in the Middle Kingdom.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 42 (1991), 89–94.

Leprohon, Ronald. *The Reign of Amenemhat I*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980.

Malek, Jaromir, and Stephen Quirke. “Memphis, 1991: Epigraphy.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78 (1992), 13–18. (The inscription of Amenemhat II.)

Obsomer, Claude. *Sésostris Ier étude chronologique et historique du règne. Connaissance de l’Égypte ancienne no.5*. Brussels: Connaissance de l’Égypte ancienne, 1995.

Second Intermediate Period

Beckerath, Jurgen von. *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*. Glückstadt, Germany: J.J. Augustin, 1964.

Bietak, Manfred. “Die Totesumstände des Pharaos Seqenenre (17. Dynastie).” *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums Wien* 78 (1974), 29–52.

———. “Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 281 (1991), 27–72.

Bourriau, Janine. “Some Archaeological Notes on the Kamose Texts.” In Anthony Leahy and John Tait, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, 43–48.

Dever, William. “‘Hyksos,’ Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age.” *Levant* 22 (1990), 75–81.

Gardiner, Alan. “The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose. The Carnarvon Tablet, No.1.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1916), 95–110.

Hoffmeier, James. “Reconsidering Egypt’s Part in the Termination of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine.” *Levant* 21 (1989), 181–193.

———. “Some Thoughts on William G. Dever’s ‘Hyksos, Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age.’” *Levant* 22 (1990), 83–89.

Oren, Eliezer D., ed. *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997.

Ryholt, Kim. *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1997.

Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. “A Buhen Stela from the Second Intermediate Period (Khartoum no.18).” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949), 50–58.

———. “The Nubian Kingdom of the Second Intermediate Period.” *Kush* 4 (1956), 54–61.

Smith, H.S., and A.L. Smith. “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 103 (1976), 48–76.

Weinstein, James. "Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine." *Levant* 23 (1991), 105–15.

New Kingdom: Dynasty 18

Ahmose I

- Berg, D.A. "Early 18th Dynasty Expansion into Nubia." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 17 (1987), 1–14.
- Habachi, Labib. "The First Two Viceroys of Kush and Their Family." *Kush* 7 (1959), 45–62. [= Habachi *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia. Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cahier* 23 (1981), 65–89].
- Harvey, Stephen. "Monuments of Ahmose at Abydos." *Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society*, 4 (1994), 3–5.
- Vandersleyen, Claude. *Les guerres d'Amosis fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1971.

Hatshepsut

- Habachi, Labib. "Two Graffiti at Sehel from the Reign of Queen Hatshepsut." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957), 88–104.
- Reineke, Walter F. "Ein Nubien Feldzug unter Königin Hatschepsut." In Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter F. Reineke, and Steffen Wenig, S., eds., *Ägypten und Kush. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13. Berlin-GDR 1977, 369–376.

Thutmose III

- Faulkner, Raymond O. "The Battle of Megiddo." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 28 (1942), 2–15.
- . "The Euphrates Campaign of Tuthmosis III." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32 (1946), 39–42.
- Nelson, Harold. *The Battle of Megiddo*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1913.
- Redford, Donald B. "A Bronze Age Itinerary in Transjordan (Nos. 89–101 of Tuthmosis III's list of Asiatic toponyms)" *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12/2 (1982), 55–74.
- Spalinger, Anthony. "A New Reference to an Egyptian Campaign of Thutmose III in Asia." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (1978), 35–41.
- . "Some Additional Remarks on the Battle of Megiddo." *Göttinger Miszellen* 33 (1979), 47–54.
- . "Some Notes on the Battle of Megiddo and Reflections on Egyptian Military Writing." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30 (1974), 221–29.
- . "A Critical Analysis of the 'Annals' of Thutmose III (Stücke V–VI)." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977), 41–54.

Amenhotep II

Der Manuelian, Peter. *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 26. Hildesheim, Germany: Gerstenberg, 1987.

Dewachter, M. "Un fonctionnaire préposé aux marches méridionales à l'époque d'Amenophis II: (Pa)-Hekaemsasen." *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 4 (1976), 53–60.

Edel, E. "Die Stelen Amenophis II aus Karnak und Memphis." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 69 (1953), 98–176.

Malamat, A. "Campaigns of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV to Canaan." *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961), 218–31.

Thutmose IV

Bryan, Betsy M. *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Malamat, A. "Campaigns of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV to Canaan." *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961), 218–31.

Amenhotep III

Dehler, D. "MRJ-MSW und der Nubienfeldzug Amenophis' III. im Jahre 5." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 11 (1984), 78–83.

Topozada, Z. "Les deux campagnes d'Amenhotep III en Nubie." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 88 (1988), 153–164.

Akhenaten

Schulman, Alan R. "Some Observations on the Military Background of the Amarna Period." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3 (1964), 52–8.

———. "The Nubian War of Akhenaten." *L'Égyptologie en 1979 axes prioritaires de recherches*. II: 299–316. Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1982.

Several, M. "Reconsidering the Egyptian Empire in Palestine during the Amarna Period." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 104 (1972), 123–33.

Tutankhamun

Dewachter, M. "Nubia: Notes diverses II. §7. A propos de la succession des deux Vice-rois de Nubia Houy (1) et Paser (1)." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 79 (1979): 317–320.

Eaton-Krauss, Marianne. "Tutankhamun at Karnak." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 44 (1988), 1–11.

Schulman, Alan R. "Excursus on the 'Military Officer' Nakhtmin." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3 (1964): 124–126.

———. "The Berlin 'Trauerrelief' (no.12411) and Some Officials of Tut'ankhamun and Ay." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965), 55–68.

Horemheb

Kruchten, J. M. *Le Décret d'Horemheb. Traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutional*. Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles (Publié avec le concours de la Fondation Universitaire de Belgique). Université Libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres LXXXII, 1981.

Redford, Donald B. "New Light on the Asiatic Campaigning of Horemheb." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 211 (1973), 3–17.

Dynasty 19

Sety

Albright, William F. "The Smaller Beth Shan Stela of Sethos I (1309–1290 BC)." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 125 (1952), 24–32.

Faulkner, Raymond O. "The Wars of Sethos I." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 33 (1947), 34–9.

Murnane, William J. *The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* (SAOC) No. 42. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of Chicago, 1990, 2nd ed. 1995.

Vercoutter, Jean. "Une campagne militaire de Seti I en Haute Nubie. Stèle de Sai 5.579." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 24: 201–208, 1972.

Ramesses II

1: General

Darnell, John C., and Richard Jasnow. "On the Moabite Inscriptions of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993), 263–74.

Dewachter, Michel. "Nubia: Notes diverses II. §6. Un commandant militaire du règne de Ramsès II: Le "Chef des arches de Kouch" Nakhtmin." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 79 (1979): 311–317.

Gaballa, G.A. "Minor War Scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969), 82–8.

Gardiner, Alan H., and S. Langdon. "The Treaty Alliance Between Hattuşili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6 (1920), 179–205.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964), 47–70.

———. *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*. Warminster, Great Britain: Aris and Phillips, 1982.

Spalinger, Anthony J. "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38 (1979), 271–286.

———. "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and other Ramesside Temples in Nubia." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980), 83–99.

Youssef, A.A.H., Christian Leblanc, and M. Maher. *Le Ramesseum IV. Les batailles de Tounip et de Dapour*. Cairo: Organisation Egyptienne des Antiquités, 1977.

2: The Battle of Qadesh

Breasted, James H. *The Battle of Kadesh: A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1903.

- Broadhurst, Clive. "Religious Considerations at Qadesh." In Alan B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1992.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane, et al. *Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel: La Bataille de Qadech*. Cairo: Organisation Egyptienne des Antiquités, 1971.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. "The Battle of Qadesh." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 16 (1958), 100–11.
- Gardiner, Alan H. *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960.
- Goedicke, Hans. "Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52 (1966), 71–80.
- Goedicke, Hans, ed. *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh*. Baltimore: Halgo, 1985.
- Kuentz, Charles. *La bataille de Qadech: Institut Francasis d'Archeologie Orientale, Memoirs* 55. Cairo. 1928–34.
- Kuschke, A. "Das Terrain der Schlacht bei Qadeš und die Anmarschwege Ramses' II." In *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 95 (1979), 7–35.
- Tefnin, Roland. "Image, écriture, récit: A propos des représentations de labataille de Qadesh," *Göttinger Miszellen* 47 (1981), 55–76.
- Von Der Way, T. *Die Textüberlieferung Rameses'II zur Qadesh-Schlacht—Analyse und Struktur*. Hildesheim: Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 22, 1984.

Merenptah

- Singer, Israel. "Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian Occupation of the Southern Coastal Plain of Palestine in the Ramesside Period." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 269 (1988), 1–10.
- Von Der Way, Thomas. "Göttergericht und :heiligen" Krieg im alten Ägypten: die Inschriften des Merenptah zum Libyerkrieg des Jahres 5. *Studien zur Archäologie und geschichte Altägyptens* 4. 1992 Heildeberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

Sety II - Amenmesses

- Dodson, Aidan. "Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 81 (1995), 115–128.
- Krauss, Rolf. "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse, Teil 1." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 4 (1976), 161–99.
- . "Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse, Teil 2." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 5 (1977), 131–74.

Dynasty 20

- Edgerton, W.F., and J.A. Wilson. *Historical Records of Ramses III. The Texts in Medinet Habu volumes I and II. Translated with Explanatory Notes. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations* 12. Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago, 1936.
- Grandet, Pierre. "Deux établissements de Ramsès III en Nubie et en Palestine." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 69 (1983), 108–114.
- . *Ramsès III: Histoire d'un règne*. Paris: Pygmalion/G. Watelet, 1993.
- Jansen-Winkeln, Karl. "Das Ende des Neuen Reiches." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und*

Third Intermediate Period

- Caminos, Ricardo A. *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon. Analecta Orientalia*, 37. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1958.
- James, Peter J., in collaboration with I.J. Thorpe, Nikos Kokkinos, Robert Morkot, and John Frankish. *Centuries of Darkness. A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1991.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*. Rev. ed. Warminster, Great Britain: Aris and Phillips, 1995.
- Leahy, Anthony. “The Libyan Period in Egypt.” *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 51–65.

Dynasty 25

- Gardiner, Alan H. “Piankhy’s Instructions to His Army.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21 (1935), 219–23.
- Goedicke, H. “The End of ‘So, King of Egypt.’” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 171 (1963), 64–66.
- Grimal, Nicholas C. *Le stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y. Mémoires de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 105, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1981.
- . *Quatre stèles napatéens au Musée du Caire. JE49963–48866. Mémoires de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 106, Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1981.
- Kessler, Dieter. “Zu den Feldzügen des Tefnachte, Namlot und Pije in Mittelägypten.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 9 (1981), 227–51.
- Morkot, Robert G. *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt’s Nubian Rulers*. London: Rubicon Press, 2000.
- Onasch, Hans-Ulrich. *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens. ÄAT (Ägypten und Altes Testament)* 27/1. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 1994.
- Parpola, Simo, and K. Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press, 1988.
- Redford, Donald B. “Sais and the Kushite Invasions of the Eighth Century BC.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985), 5–15.
- Spalinger, Anthony J. “The year 712 BC and Its Implications for Egyptian History.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 10 (1973), 95–101.
- . “Esarhaddon and Egypt: An Analysis of the First Invasion of Egypt.” *Orientalia* 43 (1974), 295–326.
- . “The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 53 (105) (1978), 22–47.
- . “The Military Background of the Campaign of Piye.” *Studien der altägyptischen Kultur* 7 (1979), 273–302.
- Zeissl, Helene von. *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ägyptischen “Spätzeit”*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 14. Glückstadt, Germany: J.J. Augustin, 1944.

Late Period

- Johnson, Janet H., ed. *Life in a Multi-cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyeses to Constantine*

and Beyond. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Kienitz, F.K. *Die Politische Geschichte Ägyptens von 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1953.

Lloyd, Alan B. *Herodotus Book II*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1975–76.

Late Period: 26 Dynasty

Psamtik I

Burstein, Stanley M. "Psamtek I and the End of the Nubian Domination of Egypt." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14 (1984), 31–34.

Spalinger, A.J. "Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13 (1976), 133–147.

Nekau II

Binns, L.E. "The Syrian Campaign of Necho II." *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1917), 36–47.

Lloyd, Alan B. "Necho and the Red Sea: Some Considerations." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63 (1977), 142–155.

Malamat, A. "Josiah's Bid for Armageddon: The Background of the Judean—Egyptian Encounter in 609 B.C." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 5 (1973), 267–79.

Sauneron, S. and Yoyotte, J. "Sur la politique palestinienne des rois Saïtes." *Ve-tus Testamentum* 2, 131–36.

Psamtik II

Goedicke, H. "The Campaign of Psammetik II Against Nubia." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37 (1981), 187–198.

Sauneron, S., and J. Yoyotte. "La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 50 (1950), 157–207.

Wahibre - Ahmose II

Cook, R.M. "Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 57 (1937), 227–37.

Edel, Elmar. "Amasis und Nebukadrezar II." *Göttinger Miszellen* 29 (1978), 13–20.

Erichsen, Wolja. "Erwähnung eines Zuges nach Nubien unter Amasis in einem demotischen Text." *Klio* 34 (1941), 56–61.

Leahy, Anthony. "The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988), 183–200.

Zauzich, K.Th. "Ein Zug nach Nubien unter Amasis." In Janet H. Johnson, ed., *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1992, 361–364.

Late Period: Persian Rule in Egypt

- Bresciani, Edda. "The Persian Occupation of Egypt." In Ilya Gershevitch ed., *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol 2. The Median and Achaemenian Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, 502–528.
- Briant, Pierre. *Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*. Paris: Fayard, 1996.
- Cruz-Uribe, Eugene. "On the existence of Psammetichus IV." *Serapis* 5/2 (1980), 35–39.
- Johnson, Janet. "The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source." *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 1–17.
- Lloyd, Alan B. "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet, a Collaborator's Statement." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982), 166–80.
- Morkot, Robert G. "Nubia and Achaemenid Persia." In Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt, eds., *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Achaemenid History VI*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991, 321–336.
- Parker, Richard A. "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign." *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941), 373–77.
- Porten, Bezalel. *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-cultural Continuity and Change*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.
- Posener, Georges. *La Première Domination perse en Égypte*. Cairo: FAO, 1936. Ray, John. "Egypt: 525–404 BC." In John Boardman et al. eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed. Vol iv. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 254–86.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Heleen, and Amélie Kuhrt. *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Achaemenid History VI*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991.
- Smith, H.S., and Amélie Kuhrt. "A Letter to a Foreign General." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982), 199–209.

Late Period: Dynasties 28–30

- Katznelson, Isidore S. "Kambesweden et Khababash." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 92 (1966), 89–93.
- Ray, John D. "Psammuthis and Hakoris." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72 (1986), 149–58.
- Spalinger, Anthony. "The Reign of Chabbash: An Interpretation." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 105 (1978), 142–154.
- Traunecker, Claude. "Essai sur l'histoire de la XXIXe dynastie." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 79 (1979), 395–436.

Alexander the Great

- Hammond, Nicholas G.L. *Alexander the Great. King, Commander and Statesman*. 3rd ed. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1980.
- Turner, Eric G. "A Commander-in-Chief's Order from Saqqâra." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974), 239–42.

Ptolemaic Dynasty

General

Höbl, Günther. *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Shiple, Graham. *The Greek World After Alexander, 323–30 BC*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Foreign Wars and Empire

- Bagnall, Roger. *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt*. (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 4). Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- Beyer-Rothhoff, B. *Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' III*. Bonn: Habelt, 1993.
- Bresciani, Edda. "La spedizione di Tolomeo II in Siria in un ostrakon demotico inedito da Karnak." In Herwig Maehler and Michael Strocka, eds., *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27–29. September 1976 in Berlin*. Mainz-am-Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 31–37.
- Clarysse, W. "A Royal Visit to Memphis and the end of the Second Syrian War." In Dorothy J. Crawford, Jan Quaegebeur, and W. Clarysse eds., *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Studia hellenistica, 24). Louvain: [W. Peremans], 1980, 83–90.
- Habicht, C. "Athens and the Ptolemies." *Classical Antiquity* 11 (1992), 68–90. Reprinted in C. Habicht *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit: gesammelte Aufsätze*. Munich: Beck, 1994, 140–63.
- Heinen, H. "The Syrian–Egyptian Wars and the New Kingdoms of Asia Minor." In *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn., vol. VII.1, pp. 412–45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Peremans, Willy. "Notes sur la bataille de Raphia" *Aegyptus* 36 (1951), 214–22.
- Tarn, W.W. "The First Syrian War" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 46 (1926), 156–162.
- Walbank, F.W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957–79.
- Wheatley, P. "Ptolemy Soter's Annexation of Syria 320 BC." *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 45 (1995), 433–40.
- Whitehorne, J.E.G. "A Reassessment of Cleopatra III's Syrian Campaign." *Chronique d'Egypte* 70 (1995), 197–205.

Native Rebellions and Internal Affairs

- Barry, W.D. "The Crowd of Ptolemaic Alexandria and the Riot of 203 BC." *Classical Views* 37 (1993), 415–431.
- Clarysse, W. "Notes de prosopographie thébaine, 7: Hurgonaphor et Chaonnophris, les derniers pharaons indigènes." *Chronique d'Egypte* 53 (1978), 243–53.
- . "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration." *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), 57–66.
- Criscuolo, L. "Guerre civili e amministrazione tolemaica. Il caso degli strateghi dell'Herakleopolites." *Ancient Society* 22 (1991), 229–34.
- Eddy, Samuel K. *The King is Dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.
- McGing, B.C. "Revolt Egyptian Style: Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule." *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 43 (1997), 273–314.
- Milne, J.G. "Egyptian Nationalism under Greek and Roman Rule." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 14 (1928), 226–34.
- Peremans, Willy. "Les revolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides." In Herwig Maehler and Michael Strocka, eds., *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 2–29. September 1976 in Berlin*. Mainz-am-Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern (1978), 39–50.

- Pestman, P.W. "Harmachis et Anchmachis, deux rois indigènes du temps des Ptolémées." *Chronique d'Égypte* 40 (1965), 157–70.
- . "Haronnophris et Chaonnophris: Two Indigenous Pharaohs in Ptolemaic Egypt (205–186 BC)." In S.P. Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, 27). Leiden: Brill, 1995, 101–37.
- Préaux, Claire. "Esquisse d'une histoire des révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides," *Chronique d'Égypte* 40 (1965), 364–75.
- Thompson, Dorothy J. "'When Egypt Divided Itself': Ptolemaic *Tarache* and the *Elpis* of Harchonesis." In Anthony Leahy and John Tait, eds., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, 321–26.
- Vandorpe, K. "The Chronology of the Reigns of Hurgonaphor and Chaonnophris." *Chronique d'Égypte* 61 (1986), 294–307.

ROMAN EGYPT

General

- Bagnall, Roger S. *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Demicheli, A.M. *Rapporti di pace e di guerra dell'Egitto Romano con le popolazioni dei deserti Africani*. Milan: University of Genoa, 1976.
- Jouguet, Paul. *La Domination Romaine en Égypte aux deux premiers siècles après Jésus-Christ*. Alexandria: Publications de la Société Royale d'Archéologie, 1947.
- Rémonda, Roger. "Problèmes militaires en Égypte et dans l'empire à la fin du IV^e siècle." *Revue Historiques* 213 (1955), 21–38.
- . "Militaires et civiles dans une campagne égyptiennes au temps de Constance II." *Journal des Savants* (1965), 132–43.
- Stein, Arthur. *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der Römischen Kaiser Zeit*. Bern: Dissertationes Bernenses, 1950.

Augustus

- Huzar, E.G. "Augustus, Heir of the Ptolemies." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2 10.2 (1988), 343–82.
- Jameson, S. "Chronology of the Campaigns of Aelius Gallus and C. Petronius." *Journal of Roman Studies* 58 (1968) 71–84.
- Mann, J.C. "The Frontiers of the Principate." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.1 (1974), 508–31.
- Speidel, M.P. "The Eastern Desert Garrisons under Augustus and Tiberius." *Studien zu dem Militärgrenzen Roms II 1977. X Internationalen Limes Congress in Germania Inferior*. Bonn: Habelt, 1977, 511–15. Reprinted in M.P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* I, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1984, 323–28.
- . "Augustus' deployment of the legions in Egypt." *Chronique d'Égypte* 57 (1982), 120–24. Reprinted in M.P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* I, Amsterdam: Gieben, 1984, 317–21.

Antonines

- Baldini, A. "La rivolta Bucolica e l'usurpazione di Avidio Cassio." *Latomus* 37 (1978) 634–78.
- Fuks, A. "Notes on the Archive of Nicanor." In A. Fuks *Social Conflicts in Ancient Greece*, Leiden: Brill, 1984, 312–21.
- . "The Jewish Revolt in Egypt (AD 115–117) in the light of the papyri." In A. Fuks *Social Conflicts in Ancient Greece*, Leiden: Brill, 1984, 322–49.
- . "Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD 115–117." In A. Fuks *Social Conflicts in Ancient Greece*, Leiden: Brill, 1984, 350–56.

Aurelian and Diocletian

- Bagnall, Roger S. "The Roman Garrison of Latopolis." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 12 (1975) 135–44.
- . "Army and police in Roman Upper Egypt." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14 (1977) 67–86.
- . "Upper and Lower Guardposts." *Chronique d'Égypte* 57 (1982), 125–28.
- . "Military Officers as Landholders in Fourth Century Egypt." *Chiron* 22 (1992), 47–54.
- Bowman, Alan K. "Papyri and Roman Imperial History, 1960–75." *Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976), 153–173.
- . "The Military Occupation of Upper Egypt in the reign of Diocletian." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978), 25–38.
- Schwartz, J. L. *Domitius Domitianus (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 12)*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1975.
- Thomas, J.D. "The Date of the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 22 1976 253–79.
- . "A Family Archive from Karanis and the Revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 24 (1977) 233–40.
- Updegraff, R.T. "The Blemmyes I: The Rise of the Blemmyes and the Roman Withdrawal from Nubia under Diocletian." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.10.1 (1988) 44–106.

BYZANTINE EGYPT

- Maspero, Jean. *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. Fasc 201. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, 1912.

The Arab Conquest

- Butler, A.J. *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of Roman Dominion*. Oxford: Clarendon., 1902.

TOPOGRAPHICAL

Abu (Elephantine)

Porten, Bezalel. *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.

Zierman, Martin. *Elephantine XVI: Befestigungsanlagen und Stadtentwicklung in der Frühzeit und im frühen Alten Reich*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 87. Mainz am Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 1993.

Abusir

Borchardt, Ludwig. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa-hu-re'*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907.

Alamein

Brinton, J. "Some Recent Discoveries at el-Alamein." *Bulletin de la Société royale d'archéologie–Alexandrie*, 11 (no. 35) (1942), 78–81, 163–5.

Habachi, Labib. "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 80 (1980), 13–30.

Rowe, Alan. "A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert: 2." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 36 (1954), 484–500.

Alexandria

Graindor, Paul. *La Guerre d'Alexandrie*. Cairo: Université Égyptienne, 1931.

Grimm, Günter. *Alexandria: Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt*. Mainz am Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 1998.

Steen, Gareth L., ed. *Alexandria: The Site and the History*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

Amarna

Davies, Norman de Garis. *The Rock-cut Tombs of el Amarna. Part III: The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryra II*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1905.

———. *The Rock-cut Tombs of el Amarna. Part III: The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1905.

Aniba (Mi'am)

Steindorff, Georg. *Aniba*. 2 vols. Glückstadt, Germany: University of Leipzig Press, 1935–37.

Areika

MacIver, David Randall, and C. Leonard Woolley. *Areika*. Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia, vol.1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania; Publications of the Egyptian Department of the University Museum, 1909.

Wegner, Josef. "Regional Control in Middle Kingdom Lower Nubia: The Function and History of the Site of Areika." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1995), 127–160.

Askut

Smith, Stuart Tyson. *Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millenium BC*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1995.

Aswan

Habachi, Labib. "The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroy of Kush in the Region of Aswan." *Kush* 5 (1957), 13–36 [= Habachi *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia. Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cahier* 23 (1981), 29–63].

Jaritz, Horst. "The Investigation of the Ancient Wall Extending from Aswan to Philae." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 43 (1987), 67–74.

Mustafa, M. el Din, and Horst Jaritz. "A Roman Fortress at Nag' el-Hagar: First Preliminary Report." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 70 (1984/85), 21–31.

Wareth, U.A. "Nag' el-Hagar, a Roman Fortress with a Palace of the Late Roman Empire: Second Preliminary Report." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 92 (1992), 185–95.

Avaris

Bietak, Manfred. *Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.

Babylon (Old Cairo)

Grossman, P., C. Le Quesne, and Peter Sheehan. "Zur römischen Festung von Babylon–Alt Kairo," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1994), 271–287.

Sheehan, Peter. "The Roman Fortress of Babylon in Old Cairo" In Donald M. Bailey, ed., *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (= *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplementary series 19) (1996), 95–97.

Bahariya Oasis

Colin, Frédéric, Damien Laisney, and Sylvie Marchand. "Qaret el-Toub: Un fort romain et une nécropole pharaonique. Prospection archéologique dans l'oasis de Bahariya 1999." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 100 (2000), 145–192.

Fakhry, Ahmed. *Bahria Oasis*. 2 vols. Cairo: Government Press, 1942–50.

———. *The Oases of Egypt II: Bahriyah and Farafrā Oases*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1974.

Beit el-Wali

Ricke, Herbert, George R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente. *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition vol. 1*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Beni Hasan

Newberry, Percy E., et al. *Beni Hasan* 4 vols. London: Trench, Trubner, 1893–1900.

Beth Shean

James, Frances W. *The Iron Age at Beth Shean*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1966.

James, Frances W., Patrick E. McGovern, and Anne G. Bonn. *The Late Bronze Age Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1974.

Brook of Egypt

Na'aman, N. "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt." *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 68–90.

Buhen

Emery, Walter BH.S. Smith, and A. Millard. *Buhen: The Archaeological Report*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1979.

MacIver, David R., and C. Leonard Woolley. *Buhen*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1911.

Smith, H.S. *The Fortress of Buhen. II. The Inscriptions*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976.

Cataract

Dunham, Dows. *Second Cataract Forts II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967.

Dunham, Dows, and J.M.A. Janssen. *Second Cataract Forts I. Semna Kumma*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960.

Goedicke, Hans. "The Inverted Water." *Göttinger Miszellen* 10 (1974), 13–18.

Trigger, Bruce. "The Reasons for the Construction of the Second Cataract Forts." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12 (1982), 1–6.

Cyrenaica

Laronde, A. *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique: Libykai historiai de l'époque républicaine au principat d'Auguste* (Études d'antiquités africaines). Paris: Éditions du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987.

Rowe, Alan. *A History of Ancient Cyrenaica: New Light on Aegyptio-Cyrenean Relations; Two Ptolemaic Statues Found in Tolmeita*. Supplement to *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte Cahier* 12, 1948.

Cyrene

Applebaum, Sh. "The Jewish Revolt in Cyrene in 115–117 and the subsequent recolonisation." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 2 (1951), 177–86.

Dabenarti

Ruby, J.W. "Preliminary Report of the University of California Expedition to Dabnarti, 1963." *Kush* 12 (1964), 54–56.

Dakhla Oasis

Giddy, Lisa. *The Egyptian Oases*. Warminster, Great Britain: Aris and Phillips, 1987.

Daphnae (Tell Dafana)

Petrie, W.M.F. *Tanis, Part II: Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1888.

Delta

Bernard, A. *Le Delta Egyptien d'après les textes Grecs*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1970.

Nibbi, Alessandra, ed. *The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times. Discussions in Egyptology Special Number 1* (1989).

Quirke, Stephen. "Frontier or Border? The Northeast Delta in Middle Kingdom Texts." In Alessandra Nibbi, ed., *The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times. Discussions in Egyptology Special Number 1* (1989): 261–275.

Shafei, A. Bey. "Historical Notes on the Pelusiac Branch, the Red Sea Canal and the Route of the Exodus." *Bulletin de la Société Royale Géographique d'Égypte* 21 (1946), 231–87.

Sneh, A., and T. Weissbrod. "Nile Delta: The Defunct Pelusiac Branch Identified." *Science* 180 (1973), 59–61.

Sneh, A., T. Weissbrod, and I. Perath, "Evidence for an Ancient Egyptian Frontier Canal." *American Scientist* 63 (1975): 542–48.

Deshasheh

Kanawati, Naguib, and Anne MacFarlane. *Deshasha: The Tombs of Inti, Shedu and Others*. Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1995.

Petrie, W.M. Flinders. *Deshasheh*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898.

Desert (Eastern)

Maxfield, Valerie A. "The Eastern Desert Forts and the Army in Egypt During the Principate." In Donald M. Bailey, ed., *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (= *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplementary series 19), (1996), 9–19.

Meredith, D. "The Roman Remains in the Eastern Desert of Egypt." *Journal of Egyptian*

Archaeology 38 (1952), 94–111.

———. “The Roman Remains in the Eastern Desert of Egypt.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953), 45–106.

———. “The Myos Hormos Road.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 31 (1956), 356–62.

———. “Berenice Troglodytica.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 43 (1957), 56–70.

Murray, G.W. “The Roman Roads and Stations in the Eastern Desert of Egypt.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11 (1925), 138–50.

Reddé, Michel, and Jean-Claude Golvin. “Du Nil à la Mer Rouge: Documents anciens et nouveaux sur les routes du désert oriental d’Égypte.” *Karthago* 21 (1987), 19f. 57f.

Sidebotham, Steven E. “Römische Strassen in der ägyptischen Wüste.” *AW* 22 Jq Heft 3 (1991).

Zitterkopf, R.E., and Steven E. Sidebotham. “Stations and Towers on the Quseir-Nile Road.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989), 155–89.

Desert (Western)

Rowe, Alan. “A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert: 1.” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 36 (1953), 128–145.

———. “A Contribution to the Archaeology of the Western Desert: 2.” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 36 (1954), 484–500.

Dionysias (Qasr Qarun)

Carrié, Jean Michel. “Les *Castra Dionysiados* et l’évolution de l’architecture militaire romaine tardive.” *MEFRA* 86 (1974), 819–50.

Schwartz, Jacques, A. Badawy, R. Smith, and H. Wild. *Fouilles Franco-Suisses Rapports II. Qasr Qarun/Dionysias 1950*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1969.

Dodekaschoinos

Dietze, G. “Philae und die Dodekaschoinos in ptolemäischer Zeit.” *Ancient Society* 25 (1994), 63–110.

Dorginarti

Heidorn, Lisa. “The Saite and Persian Period forts at Dorginarti.” In W.V. Davies, ed., *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. London: British Museum Press, 1991, 205–219.

Knustad, J. “Serra East and Dorginarti.” *Kush* 14 (1966), 165–186.

Faras

Karkowski, Janusz. *Faras V: The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*. Warsaw: PWN-Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1979.

Gebelein

Devauchelle D., and J.C1. Grenier. “Remarques sur le nome Hermonthite à la lumière de quelques inscriptions de Tôd.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 82 (1982), 157–169.

Fischer, Henry G. “The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period.” *Kush* 9 (1961), 44–80.

el-Gharbaniyat

Habachi, Labib. “The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 80 (1980), 13–30.

Giza

Hölscher, Uvo. *Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten. Vol. 1: Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*. Leipzig: J. Hinrich, 1912.

Hagar el-Merwa

Arkell, Anthony J. “Varia Sudanica.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1950), 36, 24–42.

Herakleopolis

Mukhtar, Mohamed Gamal el-Din. *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna): Its Importance and Its Role in Pharaonic History*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1983.

Irem

O’Connor, David. “The Location of Irem.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 99–136.

Karm Abu-Girg

Habachi, Labib, “The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 80 (1980), 13–30.

Kerma

Bonnet, Charles. *Kerma: Territoire et métropole*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1986.

Bourriau, Janine. “Relations between Egypt and Kerma during the Middle and New Kingdoms.” In W.V. Davies, ed., *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. London: British Museum Press, 1991, 129–44.

Kharga Oasis

Bousquet, Bernard. *Tell-Douch et sa region*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale,

1996.

Gascou, J., and Guy Wagner. "Deux voyages archéologiques dans l'Oasis de Khargeh." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 79 (1979), 1–20.

Morkot, Robert G. "The Darb el-Arbain, the Kharga Oasis and Its Forts, and Other Desert Routes." In Donald Bailey, ed., *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (= *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplementary series 19), (1996), 82–94.

Naumann, R. "Bauwerke der Oase Khargeh." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 8 (1939), 1–16.

Reddé, Michel. "Sites militaires romains de l'Oasis de Kharga," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 99 (1999), 377–96.

———. "À l'ouest du Nil: une frontière sans soldats, des soldats sans frontières." In V. Maxfield and M. Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1989, Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Exeter, Great Britain: Exeter University Press, 1991, 485–93.

Wagner, Guy. "Le camp romaine de Doush (Oasis de Khargeh – Egypte)." *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13 int. Limeskongress. Aalen 1983*. Stuttgart, Germany: K. Theis, 1986, 671–72.

———. *Les oasis d'Egypt à l'époque grecque, romaine et Byzantine d'après les documents grecs*. Cairo: IFAO, 1987.

Kor

Smith, H.S. "Report on the Excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Kor, 1965." *Kush* 14 (1966), 187–243.

Vercoutter, Jean. "Kor est-il Iken? Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles françaises de Kor (Bouhen sud), Sudan, en 1954." *Kush* 3 (1955).

Kumma

Dunham, Dows, and Jozef M.A. Janssen. *Second Cataract Forts I. Semna Kumma*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960.

Maskhuta, Tell el-

Holladay, John S. *Cities of the Delta, III: Tell el-Maskhuta*. Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publication, American Research Centre in Egypt, 1982.

Medinet Habu

The Epigraphic Survey. *Medinet Habu Volume I. Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago, Vol VIII, 1930.

———. *Medinet Habu Volume II. Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago, Vol IX, 1932.

Megiddo

Gonen, R. "Megiddo in the Late Bronze Age: Another Reassessment." *Levant* 19 (1987), 83–100.

Kempinski, Aharon. *Megiddo: A City-State and Royal Centre in North Israel*. Munich: Beck, 1989.

Memphis

Kemp, Barry J. "The Palace of Apries at Memphis." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 33 (1977), 101–8.

Petrie, W.M. Flinders. *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account Fifteenth Year 1909. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1909.

Migdol

Louis, Etienne, and Dominique Valbelle. "Les trois dernières forteresses de Tell el-Herr." *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 10 (1988), 61–71.

Oren, Eliezer D. "Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 256 (1984), 7–44.

———. "Bibilical Migdol-Stratopeda? A Newly Discovered Fortress of the Archaic Period in the Eastern Nile Delta." *Acts of the XI Congress of Classical Archaeology*. London, September, 1978.

Valbelle, Dominique. "A First Persian Period Fortress at Tell *el-Herr*." *Egyptian Archaeology. The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* 18, 2001, 12–14.

Valbelle, Dominique, and Giorgio Nogara. "La forteresse du IV^e siècle avant J.-C. à Tell el-Herr (Nord-Sinaï)." *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 21 (1999), 53–64.

Mirgissa

Dunham, Dows. *Second Cataract Forts II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967.

Vercoutter, Jean. *Mirgissa I. Mission archéologique française au Soudan sous la direction de Jean Vercoutter - I*. Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1970.

Naukratis

Muhs, B. "The Great Temenos at Naukratis." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31 (1994), 99–113.

Petrie, W.M. Flinders, and Ernest Gardiner. *Naukratis, Part I, 1884–85*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1886.

Nekheb (el-Kab)

Capart, Jean. "Troisième rapport sommaire sur les fouilles de la fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth à El Kab: Novembre 1945 à Février 1946." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 46 (1947), 337–55.

Tylor, Joseph J. *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Paheri*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895.

———. *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Renni*. London: B. Quaritch, 1900.

Nekhen

Case, H., and J.C. Payne. “Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 48 (1962), 5–18.

———. “Tomb 100: The Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis Confirmed.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973), 31–35.

Kemp, Barry J. “Photographs of the Decorated Tomb at Hierakonpolis.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973), 36–43.

Quibell, James E. *Hierakonpolis I*. London: Egyptian Research Account, 1900.

Panion

Bar-Kochva, Bezalel. *The Seleucid Army. Organization and Tactics of the Great Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Papremis

Altenmüller, H. “Letopolis und der Bericht des Herodot über Papremis.” *JEOL* 18 (1964), 271–79.

 Černý, Jaroslav. “The Name of the Town of Papremis.” *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952), 86–89.

Ray, John D. “Thoughts on Djeme and Papremis.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 45 (1981), 57–61.

Paraitonion

White, Donald. “Marsa Matruh: The Resurfacing of Ancient Paraetionium and Its Ongoing Reburial with a Preliminary Note on the Greek, Hellenistic and Roman Pottery by D.M. Bailey.” In *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (= *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplementary series 19) ed., Donald Bailey, 1996, 61–81.

Pelusion (Tell el Farama)

Ahmed El-Taba'i, and Jean-Yves Carrez-Maratray. “Aux portes de Péluse-Farama Ouest. Campagne de sauvetage, 1992.” *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille* 15 (1993), 111–118.

Carrez-Maratray, Jean-Yves. *Péluse et l'angle oriental du delta Égyptien aux époques grecque, romaine et Byzantine*. Bibliothèque d'Etude 124. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1999.

Chartier-Raymond, Maryvonne and Claude Traunecker. “Reconnaissance archéologique à la

pointe orientale du Delta. Campagne 1992.” *Cahier de recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 15 (1993), 45–71.

Snape, Steven, and Susie White. “Rescue Excavation at Pelusium.” In Donald Bailey, ed., *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. The Proceedings of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (= *Journal of Roman Archaeology* supplementary series 19), 1996, 107–112.

Porphyriion

Bar-Kochva, Bezalel. *The Seleucid Army. Organization and Tactics of the Great Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Primis

Adams, William Y. “Primis and the ‘Aethiopian’ Frontier.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 20 (1983), 93–104.

Qasr Ibrim

Adams, William Y. “Ptolemaic and Roman Occupation at Qasr Ibrim.” In Francis Geus and F. Thill, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*. Paris, 1985, 9–17.

Freund, W.H.C. “Augustus’ Egyptian Frontier: Qasr Ibrim?” In W.S. Hanson and L.J.F. Keppie, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies* 1979. BAR International Series S71, 927–30.

Horton, Mark. “Africa in Egypt: New Evidence from Qasr Ibrim.” In Davies, W.V., ed., *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. London: British Museum Press, 1991, 264–277.

Quban

Weigall, Arthur E.F. *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (the First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier) and their Condition in 1906–07*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907.

Sai

Vercoutter, Jean. “Excavations at Sai 1955–57. A Preliminary Report.” *Kush* 6 (1958), 144–169.

———. “La xviii^e dynastie à Sai et en haute-Nubie.” *Cahier de recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* I (1972), 9–38.

Saqqara

Hassan, Selim Bey, “Excavations at Saqqareh 1937–38.” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 39 (1938) 503–21.

Jéquier, Gustave. *Fouilles à Saqqareh. Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1938.

Martin, Geoffrey T. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun*. I. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989.

- . *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials. Ramose, Khay and Pabes*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2001. (The military officer Ramose.)
- Quibell, James E., and A.G.K. Hayter. *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1927.
- Wenig, Steffen. "Das Grab des Soldatenschreibers Hwj. Untersuchungen zu den memphitischen Grabreliefs des Neuen Reiches II." *Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung. VIII. Festschrift zum 150jährigen bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975, 239–45.

Sau (Sais)

- el-Sayed, Ramadan. *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1975.

Semna

- Dunham, Dows, and Jozef M.A. Janssen. *Second Cataract Forts I. Semna Kumma*. Boston, 1960.
- Smither, P.C. "The Semnah Despatches." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 31 (1945), 3–10.

Senmut, See Aswan

Shalfak

- Dunham, Dows. *Second Cataract Forts II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967.

Sharuhen

- Oren, Eliezer D. "The 'Kingdom of Sharuhen' and the Hyksos kingdom." In Eliezer D. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997, 253–283.

Sinai

- Rainey, A.F. *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*. Tel Aviv, 1987.
- Thompson, T.L. *The Settlement of Sinai and the Negev in the Bronze Age*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Reihe B, Nr. 8. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Teudjoi (el-Hiba)

- Ranke, H. *Koptische-Friedhöfe bei Karara und der Amontempel Scheschonks I. bei Hibe*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1926.
- Wenke, Robert J. *Archaeological Investigations at el-Hibeh 1980: Preliminary Report*. Malibu, Calif.: Undena Publications, 1984.

Thebes

- El-Saghir, Mohammed, Jean-Claude Golvin, M. Reddé, El-S. Hegazy, and G. Wagner. *Le camp romain de Louqsor*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1986.
- Yoyotte, Jean. "La localité 'Ta Set mery Djehuty' établissement militaire du temps de Merenptah." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 7 (1950), 65–66.

Thebes: Private Tombs

- Arnold, Dieter, and Jurgens Settgast. "Erster Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 20 (1965), 47–61. (The tomb of Intef.)
- Brack, Annelies, and Artur Brack. *Das Grab des Haremhab: Theben Nr. 78*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 35. Mainz am Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 1980.
- . *Das Grab des Tjanuni: Theben Nr. 74*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 19. Mainz am Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 1977.
- Davies, Nina de Garis. *Private Tombs at Thebes. Volume IV: Scenes from Some Theban Tombs*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1963. [The tomb of Hepu.]
- Davies, Nina de Garis, and Alan H. Gardiner. *The Tomb of Huy, Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tutankhamun (No. 40)*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1926.
- Davies, Norman de G. *The Tomb of Ken-amun at Thebes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930.
- . *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943.
- Guksch, Heike. *Das Grab des Benja, genannt Paheqamen. Theben Nr. 343*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 7. Mainz am Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 1978.
- Habachi, Labib. "The Owner of Tomb 282 in the Theban Necropolis." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 54 (1968), 107–113. [The military officer, Minnakht.]
- Jaroš-Deckert, Brigitte. *Grabung im Asasif 1963–1970 V. Das Grab des Inj-jtj.f die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Kairo. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 12. Germany: Mainz-am-Rhein, Philipp von Zabern, 1984.
- Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs. Private Tombs at Thebes. Volume I*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957. [The tomb of Antef, Great Herald, and tomb 73]

Thebes: Royal Tombs

- Carter, Howard, and Percy Newberry. *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV. Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 46001–46529*. Westminster, Great Britain: Archibald Constable, 1904.
- Daressy, Georges. *Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 24001–24990. Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)*. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1902.
- Littauer, M.A., and J.H. Crouwel. *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985.
- McLeod, W.E. *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute,

1970.

———. *Self bows and Other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982.

Quibell, James E. *The Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu. Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1908.

Thebes: West Bank Temples

The Epigraphic Survey. *Medinet Habu Volume I. Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago, Vol VIII, 1930.

———. *Medinet Habu Volume II. Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago, Vol IX, 1932.

Naville, Edouard, and H.R. Hall. *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari. Part I*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1907.

Youssef, A.A.H., Christian Leblanc, and M. Maher. *Le Ramesseum IV. Les batailles de Tounip et de Dapour*. Cairo: Organisation Egyptienne des Antiquités, 1977.

Tjaru

Abd el-Maqsoud, Mohamed, Mohamed Kamal Ibrahim, Ramadan Helmy Mohamed, and Peter Grossmann, "The Roman Castrum of Tell Abū Sayfī at Qantara." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 53 (1997), 221–26.

Tumbos

Edwards, David N., and Ali Osman M. Salih. *The Mahas Survey 1991. Interim Report and Site Inventory*. Mahas Survey Reports no 1. Cambridge: 1992.

Uronarti

Dunham, Dows. *Second Cataract Forts II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967.

Wadi el Hudi

Shaw, Ian, and R. Jameson. "Amethyst Mining in the Eastern Desert: A Preliminary Survey at Wadi el-Hudi." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993), 81–98.

Wadi Tumilat

Posener, Georges. "Le Canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge avant les Ptolémées." *Chronique d'Égypte* 13 (1938), 258–73.

Tuplin, Christopher. "Darius' Suez Canal and Persian Imperialism." In Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt, eds., *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Achaemenid History VI*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991, 237–283.

Ways of Horus

- Gardiner, Alan H. "The Ancient Military Road Between Egypt and Palestine." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6 (1920), 99–116.
- Oren, Eliezer D. "The Overland Route Between Egypt and Canaan in the Early Bronze Age." *Israel Exploration Journal* 23 (1973), 198–205.
- . "The 'Ways of Horus' in North Sinai." In A.F. Rainey, *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987, 69–119.

Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham

- Habachi, Labib, "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 80 (1980), 13–30.

EGYPT AND THE WIDER WORLD

- Uphill, Eric. "The Nine Bows." *Ex Oriente Lux (Jaabericht van het Vooraziatische-Egyptisch Genootschap)* 19 (1965–6), 393–420.
- Valbelle, Dominique. *Les Neufs Arcs, L'Égyptien et les étrangers de la préhistoire à la Conquête d'Alexandre*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1990.

Imperialism

- Frandsen, Paul. "Egyptian Imperialism." In Mogens Trolle Larsen, ed., *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires (= Mesopotamia 7)*. Copenhagen Akademisk Forlag, 1979, 167–190.
- Higginbotham, Carolyn R. *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine. Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East volume 2*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Kemp, Barry J. "Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c.1575–1087 BC)." In P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, eds., *Imperialism in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, 7–57.
- Leclant, Jean. "Les 'empires' et l'impérialisme de l'Égypte pharaonique." In M. Duverger, ed., *Le Concept d'empire*. Paris: PUF, 1980, 49–68.
- Liverani, Mario. *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* Padua, Italy: Sargon, 1990.
- Morkot, Robert G. "Egypt and Nubia." In Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D'Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, and Carla M. Sinopoli, eds., *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 227–251.
- Smith, Stuart T. "A Model for Egyptian Imperialism in Nubia." *Göttinger Miszellen* 122 (1991), 77–102.
- Weinstein, James. "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: a Reassessment." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241 (1981), 1–28.

Diplomatic Relations

- Hassan el-Saady. "The External Royal Envoys of the Ramessides: A Study on the Egyptian Diplomats." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 53 (1999), 411–426.
- Liverani, Mario. *Guerra e Diplomazia nell'antico Oriente, 1600–1100 A.C.* Rome: Laterza, 1994.
- Parpola, Simo and K. Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki, 1988.
- Posener, Georges. *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*. Brussels, 1940.
- Schulman, Alan R. "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38 (1979), 177–197.
- Valloggia, M. *Recherche sur les "messagers" (WPWTYW) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*. Geneva, 1976.

NUBIA

- Adams, William Y. *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*. London: Allen Lane, 1977.
- Davies, W. Vivian, ed. *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. London: British Museum Press, 1991.
- Fischer, Henry G. "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period." *Kush* 9 (1961), 44–80.
- Kendall, Timothy. *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500–1500 B.C.* Washington, D.C.: National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1997.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A. "Punt and How to Get There." *Orientalia* 40, (1971), 184–207.
- . "The Land of Punt." In Thurston Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah, and A. Okpoko, eds. *The Archaeology of Africa. Food, Metals and Towns*. London: Routledge, 1993, 587–608.
- . "Further Thoughts on Punt and its Neighbours." In Anthony Leahy and John Tait, eds. *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, 173–78.
- Lacovara, Peter. "Egypt and Nubia during the Second Intermediate Period." In Eliezer D. Oren, ed., *The Hyksos: New Historical Perspectives*. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997, 69–83.
- Morkot, Robert G. "Nubia and Achaemenid Persia." In Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Amélie Kuhrt, eds., *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Achaemenid History VI*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991, 321–336.
- . "Nubia in the New Kingdom: The Limits of Egyptian Control." In W.V. Davies, ed., *Egypt and Africa. Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*. London: British Museum Press, 1991, 294–301.
- . *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers*. London: Rubicon Press, 2000.
- . "Egypt and Nubia." In Susan E. Alcock, Terence N. D'Altroy, Kathleen D. Morrison, and Carla M. Sinopoli, eds., *Empires. Perspectives from Archaeology and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 227–251.
- O'Connor, David. "The Locations of Yam and Kush and Their Historical Implications." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986), 27–50.
- . "The Location of Irem." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 99–136.
- . *Ancient Nubia. Egypt's Rival in Africa*. Philadelphia: University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Pennsylvania, 1993.
- Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. *Ägypten und Nubien*. Lund, 1941.
- Speidel, M.P. "Nubia's Roman Garrison." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2

- 10.1, 1988, 767–98. Reprinted in M.P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* II. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992, 240–74.
- Trigger, Bruce. *Nubia under the Pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.
- Updegraff, R.T. “The Blemmyes I: The Rise of the Blemmyes and the Roman Withdrawal from Nubia under Diocletian.” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2 10.1 (1988), 44–106.
- Welsby, Derek A. *The Kingdom of Kush: The Napatan and Meroitic Empires*. London: British Museum Press, 1996.
- Zibelius, Karola. *Afrikanische Orts- und Volkemamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Beiheft Reihe B/1. Wiesbaden, Germany: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1972.
- Zibelius-Chen, K. *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien. Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren*. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Beiheft Reihe B 78. Wiesbaden, Germany: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1988.

LIBYA AND LIBYANS

- Haring, B. “Libyans in the Late Twentieth Dynasty.” In R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts, ed., *Village Voices. Proceedings of the Symposium “Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation” Leiden, May 31–June 1, 1991*. Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden University, 1992.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A. “The Arrival of the Libyans in Late New Kingdom Egypt.” In Anthony Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 B.C.* London: School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and The Society for Libyan Studies (1990), 15–27.
- O’Connor, David. “The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom.” In Anthony Leahy, ed., *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 B.C.* London: School of Oriental and African Studies, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies and The Society for Libyan Studies (1990), 29–113.

NEAR EAST

- Beal, Richard H. *The Organisation of the Hittite Military*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1992.
- Eph’al, Israel. *The Ancient Arabs. Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* Leiden: Brill, 1982.
- Giveon, Raphael. *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents Egyptiens*. Leiden, 1971.
- . *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 1978.
- Hawkins, David J. “The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia.” In *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Part III.1, 1982, 372–441.
- Higginbotham, Carolyn R. *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine. Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East volume 2*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Hoyland, Robert G. *Arabia and the Arabs. From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Israelit-Groll, Sarah. “The Egyptian Administrative System in Syria and Palestine in the 18th Dynasty, a Model of High Integrative Level.” *Fontes atque Pontes. Eine Festgabe für*

- Hellmut Brunner. *ÄAT (Ägypten und Altes Testament)* 5, (1983), 234–242.
- Kuhrt, Amélie. *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC*. 2 vols. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Liverani, Mario. *Prestige and Interest. International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* Padua, Italy: University of Padua, 1990.
- Redford, Donald B. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Schulman, Alan R. “Kings, Chronicles and Egyptian Mercenaries.” *BES* 5 (1983), 117–133.
- Warburton, David. *Egypt and the Near East. Politics in the Bronze Age. Recherches et Publications*. Neuchâtel-Paris: Civilisations du Proche Orient série IV 2001.
- Ward, William A. *Egypt and the East Mediterranean World*. Beirut American University of Beirut, 1971.
- . “The Shasu ‘Bedouin’.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15 (1972), 35–60.

Jews and Jewish Revolts

- Applebaum, Sh. “The Jewish Revolt in Cyrene in 115–117 and the subsequent recolonisation.” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 2 (1951), 177–86.
- Eck, Werner. “The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999), 76–89.
- Fuks, A. “The Jewish Revolt in Egypt (AD 115–117) in the Light of the Papyri.” In A. Fuks, *Social Conflicts in Ancient Greece*. Leiden: Brill, 1984, 322–49.
- . “Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in AD 115–117.” In A. Fuks, *Social Conflicts in Ancient Greece*. Leiden: Brill, 1984, 350–56.
- Goudriaan, Koen. *Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt*. P.W. De Neeve and H.W. Pleket, eds. Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology, vol. V. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1988.
- Kaslev, Aryeh. “The Civil Status of Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt.” In Per Bilde, Troels Engberg-Pedersen, Lise Hannestad, and Jan Zahle, eds., *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization III). Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992, 100–121.
- Modrzejewski, Joseph Mélèze. *Les Juifs d'Égypte de Ramsès II à Hadrien*. Paris: Editions Errance, 1991.
- Porten, Bezalel. *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996.

The Sea Peoples

- Drews, Robert. *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Nelson, Harold. “The Naval Battle Depicted at Medinet Habu.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1943), 40–55.
- Sandars, Nancy K. *The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Eastern Mediterranean 1250–1150 B.C.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD

- Barns, John. *Egyptians and Greeks*. Oxford, 1966.
- Boardman, John. *The Greeks Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade*. Rev. ed. London:

Thames and Hudson, 1980.

Davies, W.V., and Louise Schofield, eds. *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millenium B.C.* London: British Museum Press, 1995.

Helck, Wolfgang. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasien zur Ägais*. 2nd ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995.

Hornblower, Simon. *The Greek World 479–323 BC*. Rev. ed. London: Routledge, 1991.

Shipley, Graham. *The Greek World After Alexander, 323–30 BC*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Vercoutter, Jean. *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*. Cairo, 1956.

MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND WARFARE

Weapons and Other Military Equipment

General

Bonnet, H. *Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients*. Leipzig: J.D. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926.

Gonen, Rivka. *Weapons of the Ancient World*. Cassell's Introducing Archaeology Series (8). London: Cassell, 1975.

Petrie, W.M. Flinders. *Tools and Weapons*. London: Egypt Research Account, 1917.

Wolf, W. *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*. Leipzig: J.D. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926.

Archery Equipment

McLeod, W.E. "The Range of the Ancient Bow." *Phoenix* 19 (1965), 1–14.

———. *Composite Bows from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1970.

———. *Self-Bows and other Archery Tackle from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1982.

Miller, R., E. McEwen, and C. Bergman. "Experimental Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Archery." *World Archaeology* 18/2 (1986), 178–95.

Peleg, J., J. Baram, and E.D. Oren. "Analysis of Bronze Arrowheads of the Saite Period from the Nile Delta Region." *Metallography* 16 (1983), 81–98.

Western, A.C., and W. McLeod. "Woods Used in Egyptian Bows and Arrows." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81 (1995) 77–94.

Axes

Davies, W.V. "An Inscribed Axe Belonging to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974), 114–118.

———. *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, VII: Tools and Weapons, I: Axes*. London: British Museum Publications, 1987.

Kühnert-Eggebrecht, E. *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*. Berlin: Zabern 1969.

Camels

- Bulliet, R.W. *The Camel and the Wheel*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Kuhrt, Amélie. "The Exploitation of the Camel in the Neo-Assyrian Empire." In Anthony Leahy and John Tait, eds., *Studies in Honour of H.S. Smith*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, 179–184.
- Rowley-Conwy, Peter. "The Camel in the Nile Valley: New Radiocarbon Accelerator (AMS) Dates from Qasr Ibrim." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988), 245–248.

Chariots and Horses

- Barclay, Harold B. *The Role of the Horse in Man's Culture*. London: J.A. Allen, 1980.
- Crouwel, J.J.K., M.A. Littauer, and P. Raulwing, eds. *Selected Writings on Chariots and Other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Dalley, Stephanie. "Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglathpileser III and Sargon II." *Iraq* 47 (1985), 31–48.
- Ikeda, Yotuka. "Solomon's Trade in Horses and Chariots in Its International Setting." In Tomoo Ishida, ed., *International Symposium for Biblical Studies (1979, Tokyo)*. *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1982, 215–238.
- Kammenhuber, A. *Hippologia Hethitica*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1961.
- Littauer, M.A., and J.H. Crouwel. *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979.
- . *Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985.
- Moorey, P.R.S. "The Emergence of the Light, Horse-Drawn Chariot in the Near East c.2000–1500 BC." *World Archaeology* 18/2 (Weaponry and Warfare) 1986, 196–215. 1986.
- Partidge, Robert. *Transport in Ancient Egypt*. London: Rubicon Press, 1996.
- Rommelaere, C. *Les chevaux du nouvel empire égyptien. Origines, races, harnachement*. Brussels, Connaissance del' Äghpte Ancienne, 1991.
- Salonen, A. *Hippologia Accadica*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1955.
- Schulman, Alan R. "Egyptian Chariotry: A Re-examination." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2 (1963), 75–98.
- . "Chariots, Chariotry and the Hyksos" *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10 (1980), 105–53.
- Steinborn, M. "Harness in Nubian Wall Paintings." *Nubia Christiana* I (1982), 305–343.
- Western, A.C. "A Wheel Hub from the Tomb of Amenophis III." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973), 91–4.

Fortresses and Fortifications (General Studies)

- Clarke, Somers. "Ancient Egyptian Frontier Fortresses." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1916), 155–79.
- Kemp, Barry J. "Fortified Towns in Nubia." In Peter J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G.W. Dimbleby, eds., *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*. London: Gerald Duckworth, 1972, 651–656.
- . "Soil (Including Mud-brick Architecture)." In Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2000, 78–103.

Spencer, A. Jeffrey. *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*. Warminster, Great Britain: Aris and Phillips, 1979.

———. “Casemate Foundations Once Again.” In Anthony Leahy and John Tait, eds., *Studies in Honour of H.S. Smith*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, 295–300.

Uphill, Eric P. “Nubian Settlement Fortifications in the Middle Kingdom.” In Anthony Leahy and John Tait, eds., *Studies in Honour of H.S. Smith*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999, 327–330.

Standards

Faulkner, Raymond O. “Egyptian Military Standards.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941), 12–18.

Korostovtzev, M. “Un étendard militaire égyptien?” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 45 (1947), 128–31.

THE ARMY

The Army: Pharaonic

Berlev, Oleg. “Les prétendus ‘citadins’ au Moyen Empire.” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 23 (1971), 23–48.

Chevereau, Pierre-Marie. *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque*. (Privately printed) 1985.

Faulkner, Raymond O. “Egyptian Military Organization.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953), 36–39.

Gnirs, Andrea M. *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*. Heidelberg, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 1996.

Helck, Wolfgang. *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und altertumskunde Ägyptens*. Leipzig J.J. Hinrichs, 1939.

Schulman, Alan R. *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. Berlin, Muncher Ahyptologische Studien 1964.

———. “Siege Warfare in Pharaonic Egypt.” *Natural History Magazine* 73/3 (March 1964), 12–21.

Winnicki, J.K. “Die Kalasirier der spätdynastischen und der ptolemäischen Zeit.” *Historia* 26 (1977), 257–68.

The Army: Ptolemaic

Adcock, F. *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1957.

Bar-Kochva, Bezalel. *The Seleucid Army. Organization and Tactics of the Great Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Garlan, Y. *War in the Ancient World: A Social History*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1975.

———. “War and Sieecraft.” In *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. VII.1, pp. 353–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

———. “Warfare.” In *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed., vol. VI, pp. 678–92. Cambridge:

- Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Graindor, Paul. *La Guerre d'Alexandrie*. Cairo: Université Égyptienne, 1931.
- Griffith, G.T. *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935.
- Launey, M. *Recherches sur les années hellénistiques, i-ii*. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 169–70). Paris: Boccard, 1949–1950 (reprinted with revisions, 1987).
- Marsden, E.W. *Greek and Roman Artillery: Historical Development*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Mehl, A. “Militärwesen und Verwaltung der Ptolemäer in Zypern.” *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 38 (1996) 215–60.
- Peremans, W., and E. van't Dack. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica, ii: L'Armée de terre et la police, nos 1825–4983* (Studia hellenistica 8). Louvain: [W. Peremans], 1952.
- Rich, J., and G. Shipley, eds. *War and Society in the Greek World* (Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 4). London: Routledge, 1993.
- Sekunda, N. *The Ptolemaic Army under Ptolemy VI Philometor*. Stockport, Great Britain: Montvert Publications 1995.
- Tarn, W.W. *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930.
- Van't Dack, E. “L'Armée romaine d'Egypte de 55 à 30 av. J.C.” In H. Herier and E. Winter, eds., *Das römische-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26–30 September in Trier*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983, 19–29.

The Army: Roman

- Cavenaile, R. “Prosopographie de l'armée romaine d'Egypt d'Auguste à Dioclétien.” *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), 213–320.
- Devijver, H. “The Roman Army in Egypt with special reference to the *Militiae Equestres*.” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.1 (1974), 452–92.
- Lesquier, J. *L'armée romaine de l'Egypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*. Cairo: IFAO, 1918.
- Sabin, Philip. “The Face of Roman Battle.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000), 1–17.

Soldiers: Veterans and Cleruchs

- Crawford, Dorothy J. *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Grenfell, Bernard P., Arthur S. Hunt, and J. Gilbert Smyly. Appendix to *The Tebtunis Papyri* vol I. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902, 545–58.
- Lewis, Naphtali. *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Sauneron, Serge, and Jean Yoyotte. “Traces d'établissements asiatiques en Moyenne-Égypte sous Ramsès II.” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 7 (1950), 67–70.
- Uebel, Fr. *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemaern*. Berlin: Literatur U. Kunst, 1968.

SOLDIERS: ROMAN

- Alston, Richard. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*. London: Routledge, 1995.

- . "Violence and Social Control in Roman Egypt." *Proceedings of the XXth International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23–29 August, 1992*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1994, 517–21.
- Bagnall, Roger S. "Military Officers as Landowners in Fourth Century Egypt." *Chiron* 22 (1992), 47–54.
- Barnes, Timothy D. "The Career of Abinnaeus." *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 368–74.
- Bell, Harold I., V. Martin, E.G. Turner, and D. Van Berchem. *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Military Official in the Reign of Constantius II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Biezunska-Malowist, I. "La famille du vétéran romain C. Iulius Niger de Karanis." *Eos* 49 (1957–8), 155–64.
- Daris, S. "Le truppe ausiliarie romane in Egitto." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2 10.1 (1988), 724–42.
- Lewis, Naphtali. *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1983.
- Rea, John R. "A Cavalryman's Career A.D. 384 (?)–401." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 56 (1984), 79–92.
- Speidel, M.P. "Auxiliary Units Named after Their Commanders: Four Examples from Egypt." *Aeg.* 62 1982 165–72. Reprinted in M.P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* I. Amsterdam: Gieben, 1984, 101–8.
- . "Palmyrenian irregulars at Koptos." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 21 (1984), 221–4. Reprinted in M.P. Speidel, *Roman Army Studies* II, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992, 82–5.
- Vandersleyen, Claude. "Chronologie des Préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395." *Coll Latomus* 55 (1962) 44–61.

Navy

- Casson, L. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Darnell, John Coleman. "The *kbn.wt* Vessels of the Late Period." In Janet H. Johnson, ed., *Life in a Multi-cultural Society. Egypt from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992, 67–89.
- Faulkner, Raymond O. "Egyptian Seagoing Ships." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1940), 3–9.
- Jones, Dilwyn. *Boats*. London: British Museum Press, 1995.
- Hauben, H. *Callicrates of Samos: A Contribution to the Study of the Ptolemaic Admiralty* (Studia hellenistica 18). Louvain: [W. Peremans], 1970.
- Landström, B. *Ships of the Pharaohs*. London: Allen Lane, 1970.
- Lloyd, Alan B. "Tirremes and the Saïte Navy." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58 (1972), 268–79.
- Nelson, Harold. "The Naval Battle Depicted at Medinet Habu" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 2 (1943), 40–55.
- Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny. *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1946.
- Van't Dack, Edmond, and Hans Hauben. "L'apport égyptien à l'armée navale lagide." In Herwig Maehler and Michael Strocka, eds., *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27–29. September 1976 in Berlin*. Mainz-am-Rhein, Germany: Philipp von Zabern, 59–94.
- Vinson, Steve. *Egyptian Ships and Boats*. Princes Risborough, Great Britain: Shire Egyptology, 1991.

Art

Davis, Whitney. *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art*. California Study in the History of Art 30. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Hall, Emma S. *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*. Berlin: MÄS 44, 1986.

Economy

Ahituv, S. "Economic Factors in the Egyptian Conquest of Canaan." *Israel Exploration Journal* 28 (1978), 93–105.

Bleiberg, E. "Commodity Exchange in the Annals of Thutmose III." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 11 (1981), 107–110.

———. "The King's Privy Purse During the New Kingdom: An Examination of *INW*." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984), 155–167.

———. "The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt: An Examination of *B3kw(t)*." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 25 (1988), 157–168.

———. *The Official Gift in Ancient Egypt*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

Carrié, Jean Michel. "Le rôle économique de l'armée dans l'Égypte romaine," *Années et fiscalité dans le monde antique. (Colloques nationaux du Centre National de Recherche Scientifique 936)* Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1977, 373–93.

Shaw, Ian. "Battle in Ancient Egypt: The Triumph of Horus or the Cutting Edge of the Temple Economy?" In Alan B. Lloyd, ed., *Battle in Antiquity*. London: Duckworth (1996), 239–269.

Civilians

Donohue, V.A. "A Gesture of Submission." In Alan B. Lloyd, ed., *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1992, 82–114.

Hanson, Victor Davis. *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Ethos

Davies, N. de G. "The King as Sportsman." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 30 (1935), 49–53.

Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane. "Un petit monument commémoratif du roi athlète." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 7 (1950), 37–46.

Hayes, William C. "The Sporting Tradition." In *Cambridge Ancient History* 2nd ed., Chapter 9, section 5, 1977.

van de Walle, B. "Les rois sportifs de l'ancienne Égypte." *Chronique d'Égypte* 13 (1938), 234–57.

Literature

- Baines, John. "The Stela of Emhah: Innovation, Tradition, Hierarchy." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72 (1986), 41–53.
- . "The Stela of Khusobek: Private and Royal Military Narrative and Values." In M. Görg, ed., *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst des alten Ägypten, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*. Wiesbaden, 1987, 43–61.
- Grapow, Hermann. *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten*. Berlin: ADAW, 1949.
- Habachi, Labib. *The Second Stela of Kamose and His Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital*. Glückstadt, Germany: Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, 1972.
- Hintze, Fritz, and Walter-Friedrich, Reineke. *Felsinschriften aus dem Sudanesischen Nubien*. Publikation der Nubien Expedition 1961–1963. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1989.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A. *Ramesside Inscriptions*. 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–90.
- . *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. I. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993–95.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*. vol 1: *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- . *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*. vol 2: *The New Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
- . *Ancient Egyptian Literature. A Book of Readings*. vol 3: *The Late Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Luckenbill, D.D. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1927.
- Moran, W.L. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Peden, Alexander. *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*. Jonsered, Sweden: Paul Aströms, 1994.
- Pritchard, J.B. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Redford, Donald B. *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. Mississauga, Ontario: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Publication IV, 1986.
- Simpson, William Kelly, ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*. Rev. ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Spalinger, Anthony J. *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Wilkinson, Toby A.H. *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt. The Palermo Stone and Its Associated Fragments*. London: Kegan Paul, 2000.
- Žába, Zbyněk. *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia (Czechoslovak concession)*. Prague: Charles University of Prague, 1974.

Literary Texts

Capture of Joppa

- Gardiner, Alan H. *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I). Brussels: la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1932.
- Goedicke, Hans. "The Capture of Joppa." *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968), 219–233.

Petubastis Cycle

Hofmann, Friedhelm. *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros. Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer) (MPER XXVI)*. Vienna: Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1996.

Ryholt, Kim. "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456 + P. CtYBR 4513): Demotic Narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library (I)." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 84 (1998), 151–69.

Be a Scribe/Satire on the Trades

Caminos, Ricardo. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Brown Egyptological Studies I. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Sauneron, Serge. "Les disillusions de la guerre asiatique." *Kémi* 18 (1968), 17–27.

Notitia Dignitatum

Price, R.M. "The *limes* of Lower Egypt." In R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew, eds., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum: Papers Presented to a Conference in Oxford, December 13 to 15, 1974 (British Archaeological Reports 15)*. Oxford, 1976, 143–54.

Music and Musicians

Hickmann, Hans. *La Trompette dans l'Égypte Ancienne*. Cairo: Government Printing Press, 1946.

Montagu, Jeremy. "One of Tutankhamun's Trumpets." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64 (1978), 133–34.

Nationalism

Eddy, Samuel K. *The King is Dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

Lloyd, Alan B. "Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt." *Historia* 31 (1982), 33–55.

Macmullen, R. "Nationalism in Roman Egypt." *Aegyptus* 44 (1964), 179–99.

McGing, B.C. "Revolt Egyptian Style: Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule." *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 43 (1997), 273–314.

About the Author

Robert George Morkot (B.A., University College, London; Ph.D., University College London) studied at the University of London and the Humboldt-University in Berlin. He is currently a lecturer at the University of Exeter (School of Education and Lifelong Learning). Dr. Morkot is an ancient historian specializing in northeastern Africa, from Libya to Sudan, with particular interest in the external relations of Egypt, the later phases of ancient Egyptian history, and in the European study of Ancient Egypt. He is author of *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Greece* (1996), *The Black Pharaohs: Egypt's Nubian Rulers* (2000), and *The Empires of Ancient Egypt* (2000). He was, with Peter James, I.J. Thorpe, Nikos Kokkinos, and John Frankish, a coauthor of *Centuries of Darkness* (1991), a controversial reassessment of the chronology of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages. He has published papers on imperialism and the Egyptian Empire in Nubia, ancient desert routes, and economics in a number of academic journals and conference proceedings.